



Hunters and Traders By Lord Leighton, P R A in the Royal Exchange,
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Nelson's School History Of Great Britain and Ireland

By

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*Illustrated with Coloured Reproductions
of Great Historical
Paintings*

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CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

Part I.—The Beginnings of the State

1 The Early Inhabitants of Britain,	11	9 The Recovery of England, 10 Early English Government,	40
2 The Roman Conquest,	14	11 St Dunstan and King Edgar,	43
3 The English Conquest,	20	12 The Danish Conquest, 13 Cnut and the Great Earls,	48 50
4 The Conversion of the English,	23	14 The Norman Conquest, 15 English Society before the Norman Conquest,	53 56
5 The Union of England,	26		60
6 Early Scotland,	29		
7 Early Ireland and Wales,	33		
8 King Alfred and the Danes,	37		

Part II —The Absolute Monarchy

16 William I as King of England,	64	23 Ireland down to the Anglo Norman Conquest, 24 Richard I and John,	84 88
17 Lanfranc and Anselm,	68	25 The Great Charter, 26 Scotland under English and Norman Influence,	93 95
18 The Feudal System and Norman Government,	71	27 The Misgovernment of Henry III, 28 Simon de Montfort and the Parliament,	98 101
19 The Growth of Scotland,	74	29 English Society in the Thirteenth Century, ...	105
20 England, Normandy, and France,	76		
21 The Reforms of Henry II,	79		
22 St Thomas of Canterbury,	82		

Contents

Part III —Crown and Parliament

30 The Reforms of Edward I ,	109	39 The Lancastrian System and Henry IV ,	136
31 The Conquest of Wales,	112	40 Scotland The Bruces and the Stewarts,	139
32 Scotland before the War of Independence,	115	41 The Great War with France under Henry V ,	141
33 William Wallace and Robert Bruce,	117	42 Origin of the Wars of the Roses,	145
34 Parliament, the Barons, and Edward II ,	119	43 Warwick the Kingmaker and the Wars of the Roses,	148
35 The Great War with France its Causes,	123	44 The Stewarts and the No bility in Scotland,	151
36 The Great War with France under Edward III ,	126	45 Ireland under English Rule,	153
37 Government and Society under Edward III ,	130	46 The End of the Middle Ages,	155
38 Welsh, the Lollards, and Richard II ,	132		

Part IV —The Beginnings of the Modern State

47 Henry VII and the New Monarchy,	159	54 England and Scotland, 1488-1542,	180
48 Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey,	161	55 Elizabeth and the Anglican Establishment,	183
49 The Causes of the English Reformation,	164	56 John Knox and Mary Queen of Scots,	185
50 The Reformation under Henry VIII ,	166	57 Religion and Com merce,	190
51 Some Results of the Re formation,	171	58 The Foreign Policy of Elizabeth,	193
52 The Reformation under Edward VI ,	173	59 The Defeat of the Spanish Armada,	196
53 Queen Mary and the Romanist Reaction,	176	60 The Tudor Age,	200

BOOK II

Part I — The Struggle for Parliamentary Government.

1 The Accession of James I ,	205	10 The First Civil War,	235
2 James I and the Puritans,	209	11 The Rise of Oliver Cromwell,	241
3 James I and the Parliament,	212	12 The Establishment of the Commonwealth,	246
4 Beginning of the Thirty Years' War,	215	13 The Commonwealth and the Protectorate,	249
5 The Misgovernment of Charles and Buckingham,	218	14 The Restoration,	252
6 The Petition of Right and the Breach with Parliament,	221	15 Charles II and the Parliamentary Opposition,	257
7 The Ship Money Trial, and the Scottish Rebellion,	225	16 The Exclusion Bill, and the Tyranny of James II ,	261
8 The Long Parliament,	229	17 The English Revolution,	264
9 The Irish Rebellion and its Results,	232	18 Scotland and Ireland,	269
		19 India and America,	273
		20 Trade, Industry, and Literature,	276

Part II — The Creation of the British Empire

21 The Revolution in Scotland and Ireland, and the War with France,	281	28 The War of the Austrian Succession,	305
22 The Revolution and Domestic Government,	284	29 Pitt and the King Outbreak of the Seven Years' War,	310
23 Ireland, Scotland, and India the Union,	288	30 Pitt and the Seven Years' War,	315
24 William III and the Spanish Succession,	292	31 The Peace of Paris Early Years of George III ,	320
25 Marlborough and his Campaigns,	295	32 The War of American Independence,	323
26 George I and Walpole,	299	33 The Peace of Paris William Pitt's Accession to Power,	328
27 Walpole and George II ,	302		

34 India Clive and Warren Hastings,	331	39 Ireland the Union,	350
35 Political Reform and the Industrial Revolution in England and Scotland,	335	40 The Peace of Amiens, and the Renewal of the War,	354
36 Society, Art, and Literature,	338	41 The War with Napoleon (1803-1808),	357
37 The French Revolution and the War with France,	342	42 The War with Napoleon (1808-1812),	361
38 The War with France,	345	43 The War with Napoleon (1812-1815),	364
		44 India and America,	373

Part III —Commercial Growth and Political Reform

45 The End of George III's Reign,	377	56 Political Reform and Ireland,	421
46 Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation,	380	57 The Foreign and Colonial Policy of Lord Brougham,	425
47 The Reform Act and its Consequences,	383	58 Mr Gladstone's Ministry,	429
48 Foreign Policy and Canada,	387	59 Mr Gladstone and Lord Salisbury,	433
49 Sir Robert Peel, the Chartist, and Free Trade,	390	60 The Last Years of Queen Victoria,	437
50 O'Connell and Ireland,	394	61 Domestic Reforms,	439
51 Lord Palmerston,	398	62 Foreign Affairs,	442
52 Industry and Social Reform,	402	63 The Far East,	444
53 The Growth of the British Empire,	406	64 Britain in Africa,	447
54 Foreign Policy and the Crimean War,	409	65 The Boer War —I,	452
55 The Indian Mutiny,	414	66 The Boer War —II,	456
		67 End of the Boer War —Death of Queen Victoria,	459
69 The Literature of the Nineteenth Century,	486	68 The Reign of Edward VII,	461

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

IN COLOUR

Hunters and Traders, <i>Frontispiece</i>	The Little Princes in the Tower,	146
The Coming of Foes from Afar,	Caxton's Printing Office in the Almonry at Westminster,	156
Caradoc in Rome,	The Pilgrimage to Canterbury,	158
Augustine preaching to Ethelbert and Bertha,	Embarkation of Henry VIII at Dover,	167
Baptism of Ethelbert,	Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey,	170
Alfred inciting the Saxons to resist the Danes,	Cardinal Wolsey on his Way to Westminster Hall,	179
Alfred in the Camp of the Danes,	Execution of Lady Jane Grey,	182
Alfred submitting his Laws to the Witan,	Cranmer at the "Traitors' Gate,"	191
The Bayeux Tapestry,	The Armada in Sight,	194
Coronation of William the Conqueror,	Defeat of the Armada,	203
A Tournament on London Bridge,	The Pilgrim Fathers leaving Delft Haven,	206
Murder of Becket,	Charles I and Speaker Lenthall,	223
Crusaders on the March,	The Earl of Strafford on his Way to Execution,	226
King John granting Magna Carta,	Charles I leaving Westminster Hall after his Trial,	243
Hubert de Burgh and the Blacksmith,	"Take away that Bauble!"	245
Tintern Abbey,	The Fall of Clarendon,	255
The Trial of Wallace,	The Great Fire of London,	258
The Black Prince being made a Knight of the Garter,	James II receiving the News	
Edward III at the Siege of Calais,		
Whittington and the Poor,		

List of Illustrations

of the Landing of the Prince of Orange,	268	The Battle of the Nile,	349
The Prince of Orange landing at Torbay,	270	The Battle of Trafalgar,	352
Glencoe,	287	Meeting of Wellington and Blücher after the Battle of Waterloo,	369
A Royal Fugitive,	313	The Retreat from Moscow,	372
Flora Macdonald's Introduction to Prince Charlie,	316	"Pray for Me!"	397
		"Jessie's Dream,"	416

IN BLACK AND WHITE

A Roman Emperor visiting a Pottery in Britain,	17	Charles I on the Eve of the Battle of Edgehill,	236
A Great Viking,	39	The Battle of the Boyne,	279
The Preaching of the First Crusade — "God wills it!"	89	"Bonnie Prince Charlie,"	307
Knox preaching at St Andrews,	186	Death of Wolfe,	318
Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury Fort,	198	The Battle of Bunker Hill,	326
		Napoleon at St Helena,	366
		A British Square,	370
		The Return from the Crimea,	413
		The Relief of Lucknow,	420

SCHOOL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

BOOK I

PART I

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE STATE

i. The Early Inhabitants of Britain.

THE country to which we belong, which is now called the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, consists of four chief portions—England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. These countries are now governed by one King and one Parliament, but this was not always the case. It is only during the last three hundred years that they have been under the same sovereign, and only during the last century that they have all been governed by one Parliament. Perhaps the two most important things we can learn in British history are—first, the way in which the different parts of Great Britain and Ireland have come to form one united kingdom, and, secondly, the way in which our system of parliamentary government has gradually grown up.

The history of the British Islands begins in the year 55 B.C., when the Roman general, Julius Caesar, invaded Britain. After his invasion, however, Britain almost disappears from view for a century. It was not till the time of the Emperor Claudius,

in 43 A.D., that the Romans began really to conquer the country. From that time onwards British history is continuous. It may be said, therefore, to occupy about eighteen hundred and fifty years.

When the Romans first came to Britain, they found various Celtic tribes in possession of the country. The Celts, however, were by no means the first inhabitants of Britain. Ages before they came from the Continent, Britain had been inhabited by races of whom we know practically nothing except what we gather from Celtic stories, and what scholars have discovered for us in quite recent times.

The earliest human beings that have left any traces in these islands were savages of a low type, who lived in caves, and knew nothing of metals, their only weapons and implements being made of roughly-chipped flints. These people must have had great difficulty in keeping themselves alive, for the climate was then quite arctic, the hills being covered with perpetual snow and ice, while huge and fierce animals, most of which are now extinct, ranged the densely-wooded plains and the swampy valleys.

Gradually the climate became warmer, the snow and ice disappeared, the larger animals died out, and in the course of ages another race of human beings came on the scene. These, too, were savages, but they had reached a higher stage than the early men whom we have just mentioned. Their remains have been found in long barrows or mounds, in which they buried their dead.

Then weapons were also made of stone, but were superior to those of the earlier race, their arrow-heads and axes being ground smooth and polished. They made things also of wood and bone, and even had coarse pottery, but they knew nothing of agriculture, and they lived mostly by hunting and fishing. Perhaps it was these people who built Stonehenge, and the other great stone monuments still to be seen in western England.

These later people were not all driven out by the Celts, but were only partially conquered by them. In some parts of

Wales, and in the west of Ireland, they may still be seen in an almost pure condition. They are sometimes called Iberians, and the name "Erin," by which Ireland is often called, is derived from them.

The Celts were a very different people from both these primitive races, and were far nearer to ourselves in every way. They belonged to the great family of nations called Aryans—the family of which the Greeks and the Romans, the Persians and the Hindus, the Germans, the Danes, the English, and other great nations, are members.

The Celts were a tall, blue-eyed, and light-haired people, and they were brave and skilful in war. They were on the move in Europe some centuries before British history begins, taking their flocks and herds with them. A large body of them invaded Italy, beat the Romans, and even sacked Rome. They must have been a numerous as well as a powerful race, for they occupied a great part of northern Italy, and conquered the whole of Gaul and the greater part of Britain and Ireland.

There were two great divisions of the Celtic race in this country—the Brythons, or Britons, who inhabited the southern portion of Britain, and the Gaels, who inhabited Ireland and the west and north of Scotland. The Gaels seem to have come over first, and to have been partly driven out by the Britons. Thus there were really two Celtic conquests, but how the Celts conquered the country, or what the real differences were between their various tribes, we do not know.

Most of what we know about the Britons and the Gaels as they were about the beginning of our era is derived from Julius Caesar and other Roman writers. They tell us that Britain at that time was cut up into large divisions, each occupied by a tribe or nation. The tribes were governed by kings or princes, but these rulers were not despotic, for the nobility and the priests were strong enough to hold them in check.

The nobles, who were heads of the clans, were rich men, possessing great wealth in cattle, which they let out to the

poorer people. They were good fighters, and used war-chariots with great skill and daring. Their swords were of bronze, and their helmets and shields of leather or of basket-work.

The priests, who were called Druids, were very powerful. They not only kept all the secrets of their religion to themselves, but they also knew all that was then known about nature, and all that was commanded by the unwritten law or custom of the tribe.

The common people, Cæsar tells us, were of no account. They lived much as the Scottish Highlanders did before the middle of the last century, each clan being under the control of its chief. In respect of government, however, they were in a backward condition, and, as a rule, they were disunited. Sometimes two or more tribes combined together, but this was a rare case, for they were not good at helping each other, even in the presence of their enemies.

2. The Roman Conquest.

B RITAIN was still an almost unknown land when Julius Cæsar, who had for some years been engaged in the conquest of Gaul, reached the southern shore of what is now the English Channel. The Celts in Gaul and the Celts in Britain were closely connected by their common origin: they worshipped the same gods, they spoke much the same language, and they traded with each other. It was natural, therefore, that the Britons should send help to their kinsmen in Gaul, and equally natural that Cæsar should wish to punish them for doing so.

With this object he crossed the Strait of Dover in the year 55 B.C. He found it no easy matter to land in the face of the armed Britons who thronged the beach, and when he had got ashore, he had not troops enough to enable him to march

ROMAN ROADS IN BRITAIN.

English Miles

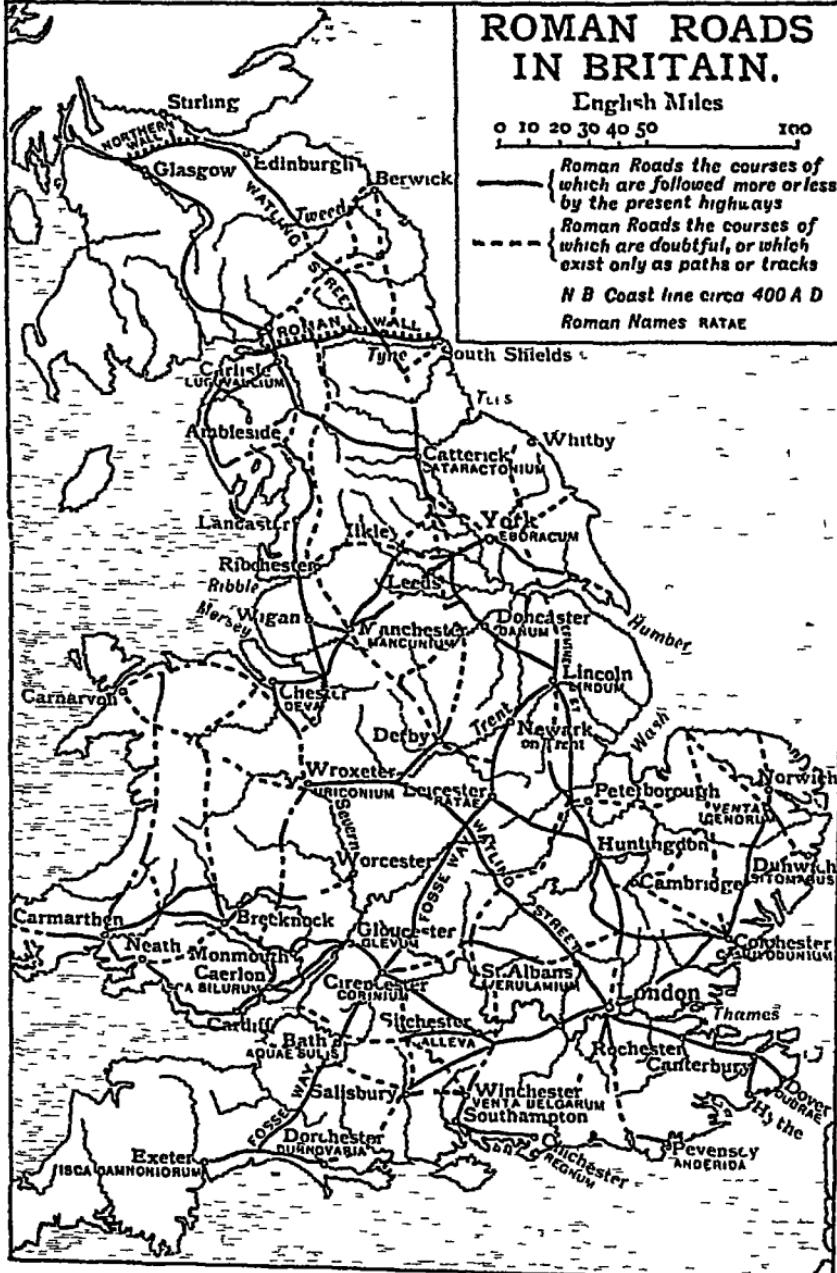
0 10 20 30 40 50 100

Roman Roads the courses of which are followed more or less by the present highways

Roman Roads the courses of which are doubtful, or which exist only as paths or tracks

N.B. Coast line circa 400 A.D.

Roman Names RATAE



far into the country. He therefore returned to Gaul for the winter. Next year (54 B.C.) he landed again with several legions, marched through Kent, and defeated a great British chief in his stronghold at Verulam, now St Albans. Caesar's object was now attained: he had shown the British tribes that it was dangerous to help the enemies of Rome, and he again returned to Gaul.

His successors in the government of Rome were unwilling to extend their dominions and to increase the burden of their own duties. Britain was therefore left alone for nearly a century. At length the Emperor Claudius began the conquest in good earnest in the year 43 A.D.

In about ten years (43-52) the generals of Claudius conquered the south of Britain as far as Gloucester and Bath. But in Wales they met with stout resistance from the natives. Though the Welsh leader, Caradoc (Caractacus), was beaten and carried off to Rome, the hardy hillmen were never thoroughly subdued. In the east, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex were conquered, and Colchester (Camulodunum) became the capital of the Roman province.

Under the Emperor Nero (54-68), the Roman eagles were carried a long stage farther north. Having built a strong fortress at Chester, the Romans pushed on into Anglesey, with the object of destroying the Druids, who were regarded as the chief upholders of British resistance. While the Roman general was thus occupied in the west, the Iceni in the east of Britain suddenly rebelled, under their queen, Boadicea, and destroyed Camulodunum. Soon afterwards, however, they were defeated, and a castle was built at Norwich to overawe that part of the country. A few years later, Lincoln became a military station. Thus, about 70 A.D., all Britain south of a line drawn from Chester to the Humber (except parts of Wales) had passed under the Roman yoke.

The last great advance was made by Julius Agricola, who in the reign of the Emperor Domitian (78-84) carried the Roman arms beyond the line of the Clyde and the Forth. But he did not attempt to annex the north country: the Tyne was



A Roman Emperor visiting a Pottery in Britain. By Sir Lawrence Alma Tadema, R.A. (By permission of the Artist)

probably the real limit of his conquests. York was now a very important place, and eventually became the Roman capital of Britain. Agricola was a good man as well as a brave soldier, he made efforts to civilize the Britons, and to show them the best side of Roman life.

After Agricola withdrew, little real advance was made. The Emperor Hadrian is said to have built (122 A.D.) the great wall that ran from Newcastle to Carlisle. Twenty years later, Antoninus Pius built a shorter wall between the Clyde and the Forth. Beyond that line the Romans did not pretend to rule, and even the district between the two walls was only partially subdued. In Ireland the Romans did not seem ever to have attempted a landing. Thus the Roman influence was practically confined to England.

There they ruled for about three hundred and fifty years, and naturally so long an occupation had important results. Permanent marks of their presence are seen in their great roads, and in the fragments of their fortresses that still exist at Chester and elsewhere. The roads enabled the legions to march swiftly from one military station to another, but they also facilitated trading, which the Romans held to be the chief object of military possession.

The Romans also improved the material condition of the country, cutting down forests, draining marshes, and introducing better methods of cultivation. They built many great towns, some of which, like Gloucester and Chester, were military strongholds, while others, like London, were commercial cities. The Roman gentry lived in fine country-houses, built in the Italian fashion, and the beautiful inlaid pavements of these *villæ* may still be seen.

At the end of the fourth century, Britain must have appeared very unlike what it was when Julius Caesar landed. It had become richer, more populous, and a better place to live in. But the Romans in Britain mixed little with the natives. The country was not Romanized, as Gaul and Spain were, and after the conquerors went away, about 410 A.D., their influence soon died out.



The Coming of Foes from Afar By Thomas D'Urfey [The Roman Invasion]

3. The English Conquest.

THE conquest which we have now to consider—the conquest of Britain by the English—had much more lasting effects than the Roman. It was not merely a conquest, it was rather the making of a new nation—the foundation of a new state, with its own language, laws, and customs. Not only our laws and our language, but also our free constitution, and many of our habits and ways of thought—the things, in fact, that most clearly show the peculiar character of a nation—are neither Celtic nor Roman, but English. They are derived from the people who conquered the greater part of Britain soon after the Romans went away, and who changed its name to England.

We may fairly call this people the English, for though, when they invaded this country, they were divided into several groups—the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes—these groups were closely connected, and all spoke dialects of the same tongue. They came from the north east of Germany, from the shores of the German Ocean, and from the south of Denmark.

While still on the Continent the English lived in free communities, governed by rulers elected from among themselves. They had no king in common, but when they went to war, they chose a leader for the time being. There were three ranks of the people—nobles, freemen, and slaves, but the nobles had no authority over the freemen, and the slaves had no rights. There was no private property in land, all land being held by the village or the tribe in common. Such were the people who, about 450 A.D., began to pass over into Britain.

Now the Romans had broken up the British tribal system, and overthrown the chiefs, so that there was little chance of the Britons being able to resist these active warriors from across the sea. Still, the conquest took a long time—more than one hundred and fifty years—and even then it was not complete. One reason of this was that the English did not come over in large numbers, but in small bodies, under separate leaders. Another reason was that the country was still to a

Caradoc in Rome By G. I. Witts, R.A



large extent covered with dense forests and broken up by marshes, which stopped the advance of the invaders

The records of the conquest are very vague and meagre. The first people who landed, we are told, were the Jutes, who conquered most of Kent between 450 and 473. Then the Saxons came and occupied Sussex (South Saxons) and Essex (East-Saxons). A little later, it is supposed, the Angles settled in Norfolk (North-folk) and Suffolk (South-folk), and formed the kingdom of East Anglia.

During the early part of the next century bands of Saxons conquered the coasts of Hants and Dorset, and passed over the South Downs into the valley of the Thames, whence they crossed into the valley of the Severn. Meanwhile another tribe, the Angles, had penetrated into northern and middle England by the Humber and the Wash, and had spread northward along the coast toward the river Tweed.

Three great victories may be said to have completed the conquest. In 568 London, which had barred the way for over a century, fell after a combined Saxon attack, and the whole valley of the Thames became English. In 577 the battle of Deorham (between Bristol and Gloucester) gave the West Saxons the lower valley of the Severn, and cut off the Britons in Somerset and Devon from their allies in Wales. Finally, in 613 the battle of Chester gave the Angles free access to the Irish Sea, and cut off the Britons in Wales from their friends in Lancashire and Cumberland.

Thereafter, the English had little trouble with the Britons—or the Welsh, as the English called them. Writers differ on the question whether the Britons were exterminated in the parts conquered by the English. It seems most likely that though at first, and near the coast, the Britons were destroyed or expelled, a good many lived on in central and western England, but in a degraded or servile condition.

The English conquerors brought with them their own customs and forms of government, but in the course of time these underwent some change. First of all, numerous small states were formed. The military leaders became hereditary

kings or dukes. A new kind of nobility sprang up—not a nobility of birth, but a nobility of office. The strength and position of the new nobles depended on their connection with the kings, whose ministers and officials they were.

These nobles, along with the heads of the church (after Christianity came in), met in an assembly called the "Witenagemot," or Meeting of the Wise, to discuss affairs of state. But the freemen, or "ceoils" (churls), still met in their own assembly, the "Folkmoot," and nothing great could be done without their consent.

4. The Conversion of the English.

THE English continued to be heathen for about one hundred and fifty years after their first coming into Britain. They worshipped many gods. Woden, the chief of all the gods, from whom most of their kings claimed descent, Thor, the god of thunder, Tiu, the god of war, Freya, the goddess of love, and several others. They believed that men's souls lived after death, and that their heaven was a happy place, where the brave warrior had his fill of fighting and feasting, and all that seemed to them best on earth.

The Britons had been converted to Christianity early in the Roman period, but before the end of that period, Christianity disappeared from England, though it lived on in Wales and in Ireland. The English, however, did not get their form of the Christian religion from the Britons, but direct from Rome.

It was in the year 597 that the conversion of the English began. At that time the old empire of Rome was gone. Rather more than a hundred years before, it had fallen under the attacks of the Goths and other barbarians, who were swarming over Italy and Spain, while their kinsmen were conquering Britain. But in its place there was growing up a

new kind of dominion—that of the Bishop of Rome, who came to be called the Pope

Now, in the year 597, there was a very good Pope, Gregory the First, afterwards called Gregory the Great. It is said that Gregory, before he became Pope, had seen, while walking through the streets of Rome, some fair-haired children who were to be sold as slaves. Having asked what nation they were of, he had been told they were Angles. "Not Angles, but angels," he answered, and determined on their conversion.

Accordingly, when he became Pope, he sent St. Augustine to England as a missionary. There was a good opportunity then for beginning the work in Kent, for Bertha, the wife of King Ethelbert, was a foreign princess, and a Christian already. Augustine was well received, and after the conversion of Ethelbert became the first Archbishop of Canterbury. Essex and East Anglia were converted soon afterwards.

The next part of England to be converted was the kingdom of Northumbria—that is, England north of the Humber. Here also the conversion took place through the agency of a woman, for Edwin, King of Northumbria, had married a daughter of Ethelbert of Kent, and she had brought with her a priest named Paulinus, one of Augustine's followers.

Edwin, who was then at war with the West Saxons, promised to become a Christian if he won the victory. He came back in triumph, and held an assembly of his wise men, or Witan, in which it was decided to adopt Christianity. Coifi, the high priest of Woden, took the lead, and declaring that the heathen gods had never done him any good, he hurled a spear into their temple, and called on his followers to break down the sacred hedge with which it was surrounded (627).

Now Edwin was a very powerful king, and wished to become ruler of all England. He had already subdued the people of the east and south, but Penda, King of Mercia, as middle England was then called, held out. Penda was a heathen, and when he defeated and slew Edwin in a great battle at Heathfield (633), Christianity was for a time destroyed in Northumbria. That country was reconverted a

little later, under its king, Oswald, but this time Christianity came not from Rome, but from Scotland

About eighty years before this, Columba, an Irish missionary, had founded a famous monastery on the island of Iona, and had converted the western part of Scotland. Oswald had lived for some time at Iona, so when he became King of Northumbria he sent for Aidan, one of Columba's followers, and made him head of the church in Northumbria. Aidan settled at Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, off the Northumbrian coast, and soon restored Christianity in the northern kingdom.

Meanwhile, the West Saxons had been converted, and at length Penda, the great champion of heathenism, fell in battle with the Northumbrians at Winwæd-field (655). This was the decisive battle, for the Mercians now accepted Christianity, and heathendom was finally overthrown.

But there were now two forms of Christianity in Britain—the Roman form, which had been introduced by Augustine and Paulinus, and the Celtic, which had lived on in Wales and Ireland after the English Conquest, and which, through Columba and Aidan, had converted Scotland and northern England. It was a great question which of these two forms should be supreme. The Celtic Christians differed from the Roman on several small points, such as the date of keeping Easter, and they were not governed by bishops, but the most important thing was that they did not acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope of Rome.

At length the heads of the two churches met in a great synod at Whitby, under the presidency of Oswy, King of Northumbria (664). After a long debate, Oswy decided to follow the Bishop of Rome. The Scottish Christians at first refused, but they too at length gave way, and adopted the Roman form about 716. This was a very important event. It was, indeed, a second Roman Conquest, for it settled that thenceforward the Pope should be supreme in Britain, as in other Christian countries of Europe, and so he remained until the Reformation—that is, for nearly nine hundred years.

The story of how England became Christian is told us

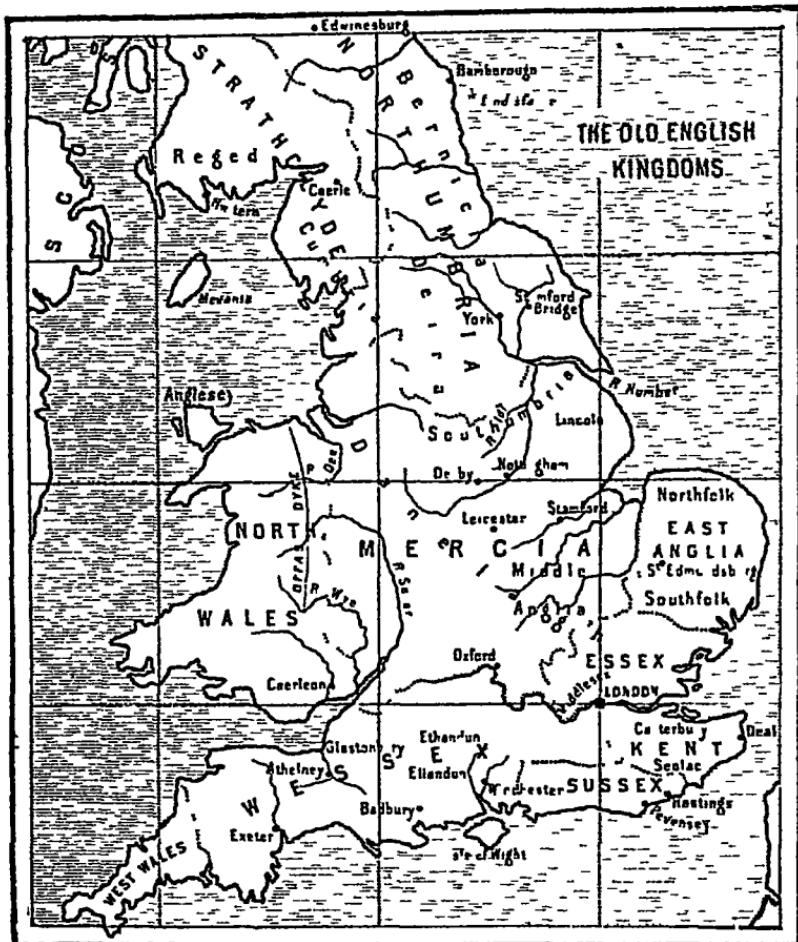
in a wonderful book written in Latin, the "Ecclesiastical History" of Beda—the "Venerable Bede," as he is generally called. Bede was a monk of Jarrow, on the Tyne, and spent all his life (673-735) in the monastery there. He was very learned and industrious, and on his deathbed he translated the Gospel of St. John into the English tongue. In Northumbria too, a little before Bede, lived Cædmon, the first English poet. He was a cowherd before it was discovered that he had the gift of song. When this was revealed, he became a monk in the monastery of Whitby, and there he turned into rude English verse the Bible story from the creation of the world.

5. The Union of England.

WHEN the English came to Britain, they set up little duchies or kingdoms all over the country. At first there were a great many of these small states, independent of each other, each of them being ruled by its own king or duke, or, as he was originally called, "ealdorman"—that is, "elder-man," or senior. Their number was constantly changing, as one was swallowed up by another, or broke loose from it again. This state of war and confusion lasted for a long time.

Even before the Britons were thoroughly beaten, the English had begun to fall out among themselves. The first time that English blood was shed by Englishmen was, we are told, in 568, when a battle was fought at Wimbledon between the West Saxons and the Jutes of Kent, in which the Saxons won the district now called Surrey. The conflict went on till the time of Egbert—that is, for about two hundred and fifty years. So long did it take for England to become one, and even then it was by no means firmly united.

Soon after the English invasion, the people of middle England and those of the north combined together into two large kingdoms. These kingdoms were called Mercia and



Northumbria Mercia took its name from the "mark" or boundary—that is, the western boundary between the Welsh and the English. This kingdom stretched right across England, from Wales to the Humber and the Wash and the borders of Essex.

The great kingdom of Northumbria lay all along the north-east coast, from the Humber to the Forth, so that it took in a large portion of modern Scotland. But the north-western country, including part of Lancashire with Cumberland and Westmorland, was still British. This British portion was sometimes independent, and was called Cumbria, sometimes it was combined with the south-west of Scotland in one kingdom, called Strathclyde.

The south of England belonged to the great kingdom of *Wessex*, which had gradually been built up out of a number of small settlements. Roughly speaking, the *Thames* was the boundary between *Wessex* and *Mercia*, but *Wessex* sometimes held a good deal of land north of that river.

Kent and *Sussex* soon fell under the power of *Wessex*, and the kingdoms of *East Anglia* (*Norfolk* and *Suffolk*) and *Essex* sometimes belonged to *Mercia*, and sometimes were independent. But these were comparatively small kingdoms. The real struggle was first between *Northumbria* and *Mercia*, and afterwards between *Mercia* and *Wessex*.

Northumbria was the first kingdom to attain a position of supremacy. In their long wars with *Mercia*, the *Northumbrians* were always trying to convert the *Mericians* to Christianity by force of arms, and when at last *Northumbria* triumphed under King *Oswy*, *Mercia* became Christian.

Oswy's son, *Egfrith*, was a great king. He ruled from the *Forth* to the *Thames*, and even tried to conquer the north of *Scotland*. But he was defeated and slain, with most of his nobles, at the great battle of *Nectansmere*, not far north of the *Tay*, and then the headship passed away from *Northumbria* (685).

Mercia was the next kingdom to win the supremacy, but neither the *Merician* nor the *Northumbrian* kings were ever able really to conquer *Wessex*. In fact, their supremacy was only a sort of nominal headship, the states subdued by them retaining their own kings and their own laws and government. Thus there was no real union of all England at this time.

The last great King of *Mercia*, *Offa* (757-796), was one of the most famous of the early English kings. He built a great dike along the border of *Wales*, to keep back the *Welsh*, he made friends with *Charles the Great*, King of the *Franks*, and he encouraged learning and literature.

After his death, *Wessex* became the leading state. *Egbert*, the first real king of all England, became King of *Wessex* in 802. *Egbert*, like *Offa*, was a friend of *Charles the Great*, and soon became very powerful. He defeated the *Mericians* at the great battle of *Ellendun* (825). Next year he forced

Essex and East Anglia to submit, and finally he subdued Northumbria (827)

The supremacy of Wessex, which lasted till the Danish Conquest, was much more complete than any supremacy that had gone before. Though the other states still had separate rulers, these were really subject to the kings of Wessex, and were often appointed by them

There were several reasons why Wessex was able to win and to keep this power. In the first place, it was richer and more populous than the other parts of England, partly because it was more open and fertile and better cultivated, and partly because it lay nearer the Continent and had more trade. It was also better governed, and more united in itself.

But perhaps the chief reason of the lasting supremacy of Wessex was that it had no British enemies on its borders. The Mercians were never able to subdue the Welsh of Wales, while the Northumbrians not only had the Celts of Cumbria to fight with, but were now exposed to the attacks of much worse foes—the Norsemen from across the sea. On the other hand, the Welsh left in Cornwall and Devon were too few to trouble the West Saxons, and thus Wessex was free to take the lead, and to combine all England in resistance to the Norse invaders.

6. Early Scotland.

THE modern kingdom of Scotland consists of two distinct portions, separated from each other by two great inlets, the Firth of Clyde and the Firth of Forth. But modern Scotland is much larger than ancient Scotland, for the Scottish kingdom, when we first hear of it, in the ninth century, was confined to the country north of the firths.

It is very important to notice this geographical division, for a great deal of Scottish history depends upon it. But besides the main division into north and south, there was another, for both the northern and the southern portion must again be

divided into two. In each portion the western half is the more mountainous, and the eastern is comparatively level. In each case the western half proved the harder to conquer, and the result is that in the west the Celtic people are still the more numerous, and in the east the English.

The English, like the Romans, conquered the country up to the Firth of Forth. But they occupied only the lower lands toward the east, the western half of southern Scotland remained in the hands of the Celts. The south-western part was sometimes called Galloway, sometimes Strathclyde—that is, the valley of the Clyde, its most important river. The south-eastern district formed part of the kingdom of Northumbria.



EARLY SCOTTISH KINGDOMS

Meanwhile, in north-western Scotland, another conquest had been going on. This was the Scottish Conquest. When the Romans left the country, there were no Scots in Scotland at all, the Scots lived then in the north of Ireland. But while the English were conquering Britain, the Scots crossed over from Ireland into the western part of Caledonia, as Scotland was then called, and settled in the islands, and along the coast of what is now Argyleshire.



Augustine preaching to Ethelbert and Bertha. By Stephen B. Cyril.

The kingdom which they set up was called, not Scotland, but Dalriada. The Scots, however, did not then conquer the rest of Caledonia, which was inhabited by various Celtic tribes, generally called Picts. These tribes, which at first formed a sort of federation, but which gradually united under one Pictish king, occupied all northern and north eastern Scotland from Caithness to the Tay.

Thus, about the year 600, all the four main divisions of Scotland were separate and independent. Three of them (Strathclyde, Dalriada, and the Pictish kingdom) were Celtic, while the fourth, which soon afterwards got the name of Lothian, was English.

The kingdom of Northumbria was then coming to the height of its power. One of its most famous kings, Edwin, built a great stronghold near the Forth, and called it, after his own name, Edinburgh—that is, Edwin's castle.* From this point the Northumbrians conquered the low country towards the Clyde, and spread northward along the coast through Fife, and even across the Tay. They also obliged the kings of the Scots and of the Picts to acknowledge their supremacy, so that about the year 670 Scotland may almost be said to have been conquered by the English.

During most of that time the Northumbrian kings seem to have been friendly with the Celtic princes. It was from Scotland, as we saw, that Northumbria got its Christianity in the time of King Oswald. When King Oswy deserted Celtic Christianity for the Roman form, the change probably caused some enmity between the English and the Celts. Soon afterwards, the Northumbrian kings tried to reduce the Celts to the position of mere subjects, and conflicts naturally occurred. It was in the attempt to quell one of these revolts that Egfrith, King of Northumbria, lost his army and his life at the battle of Nectansmere in 685.

This was one of the most important battles in Scottish

* Some writers, however, derive the name from the Celtic saint Muidana, Medan, or Edana, whose name is said to be preserved in Maidenhead, Kirk-maiden, etc.

and therefore also in English history, for if Egfrith had won, he might have conquered all the north, and then there would never have been a kingdom of Scotland at all. As it was, the Northumbrian power received a great blow, the Picts and Scots and the other Celts in Cumbria and Strathclyde recovered their liberty, and Northumbria was never strong enough to conquer Caledonia again.

For a long time after this the history of Scotland is very obscure. We hear of wars between the Scots in Dalriada and their cousins in Strathclyde, and between the Picts and the Northumbrian English. By-and-by the Norsemen began (about 800) to harry the northern and eastern coasts. Then came the union of all England under Egbert (827), which of course made the English power more formidable. It is probable that the new danger from the Norsemen, added to the increased danger from the English, made the Scottish kingdoms more ready to combine together.

How this union was brought about we do not know. All we are told is that in 843 Kenneth MacAlpin, a prince of Dalriada, but connected also with the Pictish royal family, became king both of the Picts and of the Scots. This was a great event, almost as important as the union of England under Egbert. The name of Picts soon died out, and the name of Scots spread to all the inhabitants of Caledonia. Thus about the same time that we can begin to speak of a kingdom of England, or at least of a king of the English, we can begin to speak of a Scottish kingdom too.

7. Early Ireland and Wales.

THE Celtic kingdom in the north gradually grew larger and stronger, until it was able to hold its own against England, and to resist all the efforts which the English kings made to conquer it. Thus Scotland, though often hard pressed, remained a free state, and when long afterwards it joined



Baptism of Ethelbert By William Dyce R A In the House of Lords

England, it did so, not as a conquered country, but as an independent kingdom

The fate of Ireland and Wales was very different. Both countries were conquered long ago by the English. Wales is a small country, and was very poor until coal and iron were found in it in quite recent times. It was not to be expected, therefore, that it could long resist the attacks of a rich and powerful country like England.

But Ireland is larger and more fertile than Wales, its soil is richer than that of Scotland. At the time when it was conquered, it contained more inhabitants than Scotland, and besides this it was harder to invade. And yet, while Scotland held out, Ireland was conquered. We can hardly doubt that the chief reason of this was that the Irish never managed to unite against the English as the Scots did.

On the other hand, Ireland, being a large and populous country, and separated from England by the sea, was never thoroughly conquered, as Wales was. Consequently, for the last seven hundred years, the history of Ireland has been largely made up of rebellions and half-conquests and miseries of all kinds.

The first thing to be noted about early Ireland is that it never formed part of the Roman Empire. Though Caledonia was never really conquered by the Romans, they invaded it, and Agricola's fleet sailed round it. But the Romans never even set foot in Ireland, nor did the English, for several centuries, attempt to cross the Irish Sea. Thus the Celtic people and the Celtic manners and customs have been less mixed with foreign elements in Ireland than in any other part of Europe.

The early Irish lived in clans and septs—that is, in large groups bearing the same name, and supposed to be of the same blood. At the head of the clan was the hereditary chief, having as viceroy, or second in command, an elective officer called a "tanist". Several clans would combine together under an elective king, but his authority was slight, and depended mainly on his personal character. Now and then a specially powerful king would pretend to be king of all Ireland, but his

power was even less than that of the early English kings who wielded supremacy

There was little private property in land, but every member of the clan had the right to use a certain portion of the land held by the clan in common. Their chief wealth was in cattle, but even the cattle belonged, as a rule, to the head of the clan, and were hired out to the poorer members. They had little corn. Ireland has always been a pastoral rather than an agricultural country.

The chiefs dwelt in fortified places called "raths," and in their halls a good deal of rough luxury might be seen. They were fond of music and poetry. Every chief of repute kept a harper or poet-minstrel, who made poems in praise of the chief and his family, and sang them to the music of his harp. The towns were few and small, and there was practically no trade.

The Irish were very religious, and large numbers of them became priests or monks. In the wild west the early monks seem to have lived in small communities, each of them occupying a little stone hut like a beehive. But in the more fertile parts of Ireland wealthy monasteries grew up. The abbots, or heads of these monasteries, were the most powerful churchmen in Ireland. The bishops were less important; there were a great many of them, and most of them had no dioceses.

The monks were active and learned, and many pupils flocked to the monasteries to learn reading and writing and all that was taught in those days. So high a character for sanctity did many churchmen attain that Ireland came to be called the "Island of Saints."

Wales was very like Ireland in regard to the state of society and the system of government, and the Welsh Church nearly resembled the Irish. But as Wales was much more closely connected with England than Ireland was, and as the English soon began to spread up the Welsh valleys and along the coasts, Celtic habits and customs were not so well preserved there as on the other side of St. George's Channel.

8. King Alfred and the Danes.

THE name of King Alfred is one of the greatest in English history. In the long list of English kings there is none of nobler character, and there are few who have left a more enduring mark on the history of their people. The chief work that Alfred did was to prevent the Danes from conquering all England, which they seemed likely to do when he came to the throne.

Towards the end of the eighth century we first hear of plundering raids being made on the east and north coasts of England by bands of pirates from across the northern sea. The first who came are sometimes called "Norsemen," or Northmen, sometimes "Vikings"—that is, "creek-men" (from *vik*, a creek)—because they issued from the narrow "fiords" with which the coast of Norway abounds. The later invaders are generally known as Danes, because they mostly came from Denmark. But between them and the Norsemen there was little difference.

These Norsemen were an active, enterprising race. They were excellent sailors and soldiers. They took great joy in fighting for its own sake, they delighted in plunder, and they had no fear of death, because they looked forward to a heaven in which brave warriors who died in battle would drink endless draughts of "mead" (strong beer) out of the skulls of their enemies.

Such men as these were naturally hard to beat, especially when we remember that they could invade England when and where they pleased, for at that time the English had no fleet. The Norsemen crossed the sea in long open boats, high at prow and stern, and moved by sails and oars. When they landed, they threw up an entrenchment to defend their boats, and then they seized all the horses they could find, and galloped over the country, burning and pillaging far and wide.

King Egbert did his best to beat off these pirates, but he died in 839, and the kings who succeeded him were not so

strong or so skilful as he was. Consequently the Danes grew bolder. In 855 they passed a winter in the Isle of Sheppey, and from that time forward they began to settle in the country. That was the first step in the Danish conquest of England.

Alfred was then a child. He was born in 809, the fourth son of King Ethelwulf, who succeeded Egbert. From his childhood he showed great love of learning, but his early life was too active for him to learn much from books.

Alfred's three elder brothers were all kings of England in turn, and with the third of them, Ethelred, Alfred shared the government. By this time the Danes had practically conquered the north and east of England, and it was all that Alfred and his brother could do to defend Wessex against them. In 870 they fought nine great battles with the Danes.

Next year Ethelred died, and Alfred became sole king at the age of twenty-two. He had a heavy task before him, for his kingdom was reduced to the western half of Wessex, while fresh swarms of Danes were constantly landing in England. For seven years he kept up a gallant struggle, but in 878 he was forced to take refuge in the marshes of Athelney in Somerset, and was almost driven to despair.

Just when things looked worst, however, Alfred made a mighty effort, in which he was nobly supported by the men of Wessex, and he won a decisive success. He beat the Danish host at Ethandun, in Wiltshire, and followed up the victory by blockading them in Chippenham. In the Peace of Wedmore (879) their king, Guthrum, agreed to divide England with Alfred, and became Christian with all his host.

Even after this Alfred was not left at peace, but his naval and military reforms prevented the Danes from getting the better of him again. Before 879 he had built a fleet, which hindered the Danish invasions. After the Peace of Wedmore Alfred increased his fleet, making the seaside places pay for the defence of the coasts.

He also reformed the army. He obliged all the richer landowners to serve with horse and armour as his special followers, or "thanes". He remodelled the "fyrd" or national



A Great Viking By H W Koekhoch

army, which all freemen were bound to join, dividing the force into two portions, which by turns went out to fight and stayed at home to cultivate the land. Finally, he fortified the towns, and built strongholds on the borders to repel invasion. Thus, after nearly a hundred years of misery, the English people again began to feel secure.

These warlike measures were only half of Alfred's work. He drew up a code of laws, based on the old laws of Wessex, which was approved by the Witan, or the National Council. It was Alfred, too, who caused to be compiled the history of those times which is known as the "Anglo Saxon Chronicle." This great book, the like of which is not to be found in the literature of any other early nation, is the chief source of our information about all the period between the death of Bede and the Norman Conquest.

He also reformed the church, which had suffered much in the Danish wars, and he revived education, which had almost disappeared. He sent for learned men from across the sea, and made them bishops, or heads of schools, and he endowed a school for English scholars at Rome. He himself learned Latin when he was thirty nine years old, in order to be able to turn Latin books into English for the benefit of his subjects.

Alfred was afflicted all his life with a sore disease, the exact nature of which we do not know, but it never prevented him from doing his duty. He died in 901, aged only fifty-two, leaving to all future rulers an example of perfect devotion to the good of his people.

9. The Recovery of England.

WHEN King Alfred died, half of England was still in the possession of the Danes. But the great king had done so much to strengthen his kingdom by internal reforms, that his son and successor, Edward, called the Elder, was able

at once to set about the work of recovering the country that had been lost

The Danes also appeared to be very strong. Being skilled in fortification, they built walls or earthworks round many of their towns. One group of these strongholds was bound together in a sort of federation which was known as the "Five Boroughs." These were the towns of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Stamford, and Lincoln.

The Danish power, however, was not really so strong as it looked. The Danes had found it pretty easy to conquer the north and the east of England, because the people of these parts did not at first like being under the dominion of the kings of Wessex. But finding the Danes harder masters than the West Saxons, the people of the north were now willing to go back to their old allegiance. Moreover, the Danish invasions had brought out in the English, for the first time, the feeling that they belonged to one nation. So it came about that Edward the Elder and his successors, as they recovered their hold on England, appeared not as conquerors, but as deliverers from a foreign yoke.

In carrying on the war with the Danes, Edward was actively assisted by his sister Ethelfleda, the "Lady of the Mercians," as she was called. She was the widow of Ethelred, the "ealdorman" of Mercia. The king and his sister won back Chester and many other places from the Danes, and defeated them everywhere. When Ethelfleda died, Edward annexed her half of Mercia to his own dominions. Soon afterwards the rest of Mercia, except the Five Boroughs, submitted to him.

So great was Edward's power that the Danes in East Anglia and Northumbria, and the kings of Wales, Scotland, and Strathclyde, all swore allegiance to him, or, as the old chronicler puts it, "chose him to father and lord." Thus he became king of almost all England south of the Humber, and a sort of emperor of all Britain besides.

After the death of Edward, in 925, his son, Athelstan, actively carried on the work of reconquest. He married his

daughter to the Danish prince of Northumbria, on whose death he annexed Northumbria to his own dominions. About the same time he also took possession of East Anglia. These conquests gave rise to a great conspiracy against Athelstan. The Danes in Northumbria rose in revolt, and they were aided by other Danes who had settled in Ireland, and by the kings of Scotland and Strathclyde.

Athelstan defeated this great coalition at the battle of Brunanburgh, probably in Northumberland (937). It was a decisive victory, and a famous song was made about it, in which we are told how "the king and the atheling" (that is, his brother Edmund) returned to their own land,—

"Leaving behind them a banquet of corpses
For the swift raven, and the white-tailed eagle,
And the greedy whi-hawk, and that gray beast
The wolf of the wold"

After this Athelstan had no trouble with the Danes, and he rose to a great height of power. He died in 940, and was succeeded by his brother Edmund. Under Edmund, the Five Boroughs, the last bit of the Danish Conquest that had remained independent, were recovered by the English. In his time also the Danes of Northumbria were converted to Christianity, which of course made it easier for him to hold that country.

Nevertheless, it rebelled against him again, and was not finally reconquered till the reign of his brother Edred, who succeeded him in 946. With this event the recovery of England, or the reconquest of the Danelaw—as the Danish part of England was called—may be said to have been complete.

It took the English about seventy years—from 879 to about 950—to reconquer England. Considering how strong the Danes were at first, we may be surprised that the English kings could reconquer it at all. It was in their favour that after Alfred's time the invasions from Denmark and Norway ceased for nearly a century. After they had settled down in

England, the Danes, being closely connected with the English, readily intermarried with them, and thus they gradually became merged in the English people

But England was no longer the same as it had been. In the first place, the power of the monarchy was much increased, as it generally is when a king is successful in war. In the second place, the Danish wars had pressed very hard on the poor man. In a great part of England the free peasants had almost disappeared—they had lost their property in the wars, and had become vassals of English or of Danish lords.

On the other hand, the Danes brought into England a new and vigorous element. They were by nature sea-rovers and traders. Those who settled on the coasts made excellent sailors, while those who settled inland showed great aptitude for town life, and increased our industry and trade. Thus we probably owe to the Danes the beginnings of much that is great in modern England.

10. Early English Government.

THE early English or Anglo-Saxon state was in its most flourishing condition about the middle of the tenth century. A line of great kings—Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, Edmund—had reconquered England from the Danes, and established some sort of authority over the whole of Britain. We must not, however, suppose that this authority was very full or very secure.

In the first place, the early English monarchy was not strictly hereditary—that is, it did not descend as a matter of course from father to son. The king was an actual ruler and a leader of armies, and when the sons of a deceased king were very young, the Witan chose the member of the royal family who was best fitted for these duties.

Once elected and crowned, the king came under the special protection of the law. While ordinary crimes could be atoned



Alfred inciting the Saxons to resist the Danes By G I Watt, R A In Westminster Print.

for with money, the penalty of death was inflicted for treason against the king. It was the king's duty to call out and to lead the army in time of war, and to sit as supreme judge in time of peace. He summoned the National Council, and proposed laws or treaties for its approval. He had the chief share in appointing the ealdormen who governed the shires and the bishops who governed the church.

He had large possessions in different parts of the country, and he travelled with a great court from one of his manors to another, never stopping long in one place. The officers of his household—the treasurer, the steward, the butler, and others—were of noble birth. He did not levy regular taxes, as the government does nowadays, but every town and every county made contributions towards his support.

The king's power was not limited by law, but it was by no means absolute. In the first place, it was limited because the king had no means, such as regular law-courts or a standing army, with which to force his subjects to obey him if they were not inclined to do so. In the second place, it was limited by the Witan, or Great Council of the nation, which the king was supposed to consult on all important occasions.

This body consisted of (1) the queen, and other members of the royal family who were of age, (2) the heads of the church—the archbishops, bishops, and greater abbots, (3) the great officers, the ealdormen who governed the shires, and the officers of the king's household, and (4) other nobles, called king's thanes, because, whether they lived about the court or on their own estates, they were bound to do service to the king. The Witan did not contain any representatives of the people, it was a thoroughly aristocratic body—a House of Lords.

The Witan, as has been said already, elected the king, and occasionally it deposed him. It passed laws and consented to treaties. It confirmed the appointment of ealdormen and bishops, and sanctioned grants of the public land. It sat also as a high court of law, to decide important cases in which great men were concerned, and when, towards the end of the tenth



Alfred in the Camp of the Danes By H A Bone (*By permission of
Antony Gibbs Esq*)

century, taxes began to be levied for the war with the Danes, it sanctioned their collection

The local government was in the hands of local officials and local bodies, the chief of which was the Shire-moot, or as it was afterwards called, the County Court. This was a really popular assembly, for it was attended by the common people, including representatives from the parishes whose inhabitants were prevented by distance from attending in a body. The ealdorman of the shire and the bishop of the diocese presided in the Shire-moot. They were assisted by the shire-reeve or sheriff, an officer appointed by the king, of whose interests he took special care.

The Shire-moot, like the Witan, was both a political and a judicial body, but its duties as a law court were most important. In it all cases, except such as came before the Witan, were tried and settled according to the common law.

Every shire was divided into hundreds, called "wapentakes" in the north. At first the hundred was probably a military division, meaning a district which sent a hundred men to the army. But it became more important in the tenth century, when a court, called the Hundred-court, was established in it. This court was attended by the men of the hundred, and presided over by an officer called the Hundred-man or the Hundreds-ealdor. Its special duty was to see to the prevention of robbery and the punishment of thieves.

Finally, the hundred was divided into a number of townships or villages, each of which contained one or more manors. Every manor was under a lord, whose reeve or bailiff held a court in which the affairs of the manor and its people were considered.

Thus we see that the early English polity was strong as regards local government, but weak as regards central authority. In fact there was very little government at all, life was very simple, and few laws were required. What government was needed was mostly carried on in the different districts by the people for themselves.

II. St. Dunstan and King Edgar.

WHEN King Edred died (955), it might well have seemed that the English monarchy had before it a long period of security and power. But the very next reign showed how unstable was the authority of the crown, and how weak was the bond which united all England together.

Edred was succeeded by Edwy, a son of King Edmund, who had been passed over on his father's death because he was then too young to rule. At the very outset of his reign, Edwy quarrelled with the church, and especially with Dunstan, the most powerful of the clergy. From this cause most of his troubles seem to have sprung.

Dunstan was a native of Wessex, who had been by turns courtier, monk, and courtier again. Having gained the favour of King Edmund, he was by him appointed abbot, or head, of the abbey of Glastonbury.

At that time the English Church was not in a good condition. The monasteries had never been very orderly, and the Danish wars had destroyed what little discipline there was. On the Continent many of the great monasteries were under the strict "rule" of the Order of St. Benedict, by which the monks bound themselves to a life of industry, learning, and obedience.

King Edmund, who made Dunstan Abbot of Glastonbury, also appointed as Archbishop of Canterbury Odo, a Benedictine monk. Dunstan and Odo worked together in the cause of church reform. Under Dunstan the abbey of Glastonbury adopted the Benedictine rule. Odo rebuilt the cathedral of Canterbury, and drew up "canons" or rules for regulating the conduct of all clergymen.

King Edmund and his successor, Edred, supported Odo and Dunstan in these reforms, and under them the church gained great influence in the state. But Edwy, Edred's successor, resented the control of the church over the crown. There was a strong party at court which backed up the king.

and even in the church itself there were many who disliked the rigid discipline which Odo and Dunstan enforced

Unfortunately, Dunstan's high-handed manner damaged his own cause, and at last the quarrel rose to such a height that Dunstan had to flee to the Continent. Then Edwy began to rule badly, seizing the goods and lands of the monks and others of the opposite party. A state of confusion followed, in which Mercia and Northumbria broke loose from Edwy, and chose his brother Edgar as their king. After a feeble reign of four years, Edwy died in misery, and Edgar became king of all England.

The reign of Edgar (959-975) was a time of good government, and of reform both in church and in state. Soon after he became king of all England, he made Dunstan, on Odo's death, Archbishop of Canterbury. As head of the English Church and chief of the king's councillors, Dunstan had great power, and he pushed on his reforms actively.

Benedictine monks were appointed bishops of Worcester, London, and Winchester. The monasteries destroyed by the Danes were rebuilt, many others were founded, and the Benedictine rule was established far and wide. In order to judge of the effect of these changes, we must remember that in those days the monasteries were not only houses whither men retired from the world to live a religious life, but homes of learning and centres of civilization in a rude age.

Dunstan did not confine his attention to the monks. He secured a regular income for the church by getting Edgar to legalize the collection of tithes. He sought also to wean the ordinary clergy from worldly things by forbidding them to marry, but in this he was not so successful. On the whole, whether we agree in all things with Dunstan or not, we must allow that few men have done more to raise and purify the church.

Meanwhile King Edgar was busy in reforming the state. He ordered the courts of the shire and the hundred to be regularly held, and settled how their business was to be conducted. He obliged every man to be registered in one hundred.

or another, and to find some one who should be responsible for him, so that, if any crime were committed, there would be more chance of the culprit being found out. He also divided each hundred into smaller districts called "tithings," and over each tithing he set a "tithing-man," who was responsible to the hundred-man for the good order of his district. Thus a sort of rural police was set up.

Edgar also grouped the shires together, and over each group he placed a great ealdorman, who was directly subject to his own control. At the same time he maintained his empire over Britain, and the story goes that he was once rowed in a boat on the Dee by eight under-kings, the King of Scots being one of them. He also kept up a large fleet to guard the coasts, and held a review of it once a year. In private life Edgar does not seem to have been blameless, but he was a good king, and governed well, and he was beloved by his people.

I2. The Danish Conquest.

EDGAR was the last great king of the famous West Saxon line, which had united England in one kingdom and saved the country from the Danes. His elder son Edward (called the Martyr), who succeeded him in 975, might have followed in his father's steps if he had grown up to manhood, but he died very young.

His title was disputed from the first, for Alfhere, ealdorman of Mercia, tried to set up Edward's half-brother Ethelred in his stead. Edward was supported by Dunstan and the re-forming party, while Alfhere headed the opposite faction.

Dunstan at first held his own. But before long the young king Edward was assassinated by order of his stepmother Alfrida, and her son Ethelred came to the throne at the age of ten (979). Dunstan now retired from political life, and devoted himself to the service of the church. He died in 988, fortunate in not living to see the troubles which were to come upon the land.

The long reign of Ethelred, called the Unready (979-1016), was one of the most disastrous in English history. At the very outset of his reign the Danish inroads began anew, and they continued, with hardly a break, for thirty-seven years. Fifty years of peace and prosperity had repaired all the damage done in the earlier Danish wars. The farms were well stocked, and the merchants' storehouses were full, in short, there was plenty of plunder to tempt the Danes.

On the other hand, there was little chance of them being vigorously resisted. The English fleet, which had guarded the coasts from Alfred's time to Edgar's, had disappeared, the military system established by Alfred had apparently died out. Worst of all, Ethelred himself was indolent, cowardly, and unfit to rule. He never led the English armies, and entirely failed to inspire his people with affection or confidence. No wonder that treachery was rife, and that the great ealdormen of Mercia and the north made terms with the invaders.

The Danes, on their part, were stronger than ever, for during the tenth century Norway, Sweden, and Denmark had been formed into solid and powerful kingdoms, while England was torn by internal dissension. When we consider, further, that there was already a large Danish population in England, we shall not be surprised that the Danes at last conquered the country.

We need not relate the full story of this miserable time, for one year is very like another. At first the Danish inroads were mere plundering forays, as they had been between 800 and 855. But about 990 the Danish armies began again to settle in the country. In 991 a great battle was fought at Maldon in Essex, in which Blihtnoth, the ealdorman of Essex, fell at the head of his men.

This battle led to the first of several unuous treaties with the Danes. With the advice of the Witan, Ethelred made terms with the invaders, and tried to buy them off with a bribe of £10,000. This was the beginning of what was afterwards known as "Danegeld," or the Danes' tax. Of course it only tempted the invaders to go on.

Three years later (994) an attack on London by Olaf, King of Norway, and Sweyn Forkbeard, King of Denmark, was bravely repulsed, but the invaders ravaged the south, and Ethelred bought them off again, this time with £16,000. As often as this miserable plan was repeated, the Danes raised their terms, and the result was always the same.

In 1002 Ethelred, whose first wife had lately died, married Emma, the daughter of Richard, Duke of Normandy. Emboldened by this alliance, he thought to deal a great stroke by ordering the massacre of all the Danes in England. This treacherous and foolish measure was carried out on St. Brice's Day, November 13, 1002. Many Danes were killed, including Gunhilda, the sister of King Sweyn.

Upon this Sweyn swore a great oath to revenge the massacre and conquer the kingdom. Slowly but surely the Danes gained ground, and after ten years of fighting Ethelred was forced to flee to Normandy, and the Witan chose Sweyn king in his stead (1013). On the death of Sweyn, in the following year, Ethelred recrossed the Channel in the hope of recovering his kingdom.

But a greater man than Sweyn, his son Cnut, had taken the Danish leader's place, and the war was actively renewed. In 1015 Edric Streona (that is, the Grasper), the ealdorman of Mercia, who had once already betrayed Ethelred, and had been received back into favour, deserted to Cnut with the best part of the English fleet. This obliged Wessex, hitherto the centre of resistance, to submit to the Danes. In the following year (1016) Ethelred died.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Edmund, called Iron-side, a brave and capable man, who, if he had come sooner to the throne, might have saved England from the Danes. As it was, he made such a gallant fight that Cnut had to consent to a partition of the country. But before the end of the year 1016 Edmund died, at the hand, it is said, of Edric Streona, and Cnut became king of all England. Thus England was again united, but this time under the rule of a foreign king.

13. Cnut and the Great Earls.

ALTHOUGH Cnut had become King of England by conquest, he governed mildly and well. He was, indeed, one of the best kings the English ever had. Besides being King of England, he was also King of Norway and Denmark, so that England was really only part of a great empire.

In order the better to govern his kingdom of England, Cnut divided it into several provinces, or rather he revived the old tribal divisions by setting a ruler over each of them. Following the practice of the English kings, he kept Wessex in his own hands, but he appointed great earls (as they were now called, from the Danish word *jarl*) to govern Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia.

After he had established his power by some severe measures, Cnut sent home most of his Danish troops and his fleet, and governed England as an English king. He revived the police ordinances of Edgar, which had fallen into neglect during the wars. He restored the hundreds and the tithings, and he is said to have made special laws for hunting in the forests which still covered a great part of the land.

Cnut also paid great regard to the church. He rebuilt the cathedrals and monasteries that had fallen into decay, and built many new churches of stone, a material very little used before his day. He made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he was well received by the Pope, and obtained certain privileges for humble English pilgrims.

So great a king naturally found it easy to restore the English empire in Britain, and he obliged Malcolm, King of Scotland, to do him homage (1031). But great as he was, Cnut could never forget that he was a foreigner in England, and he therefore kept up a small standing army of about three thousand men. These "house earls," as they were called, were a bodyguard of picked soldiers, splendidly armed.

So long as Cnut lived, England was at peace, but when he died (1035), discord broke out immediately. The north of

England chose one of his sons, Harold Harefoot, for king, but the south chose another son, Hartha-cnut, who was then ruling in Denmark. But neither Harold nor Hartha-cnut ever had much power. The real rulers were the great earls, Siward, Earl of Northumbria, Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Godwin, whom Cnut had raised from an inferior position to be Earl of Wessex.

When Edward and Alfred, the sons of Ethelred the Unready, came over to England to try to recover the kingdom, Godwin entrapped the younger, Alfred, and gave him up to Harold, who put him to death. Edward fortunately escaped. Soon afterwards (1037), as Hartha-cnut refused to leave Denmark, the Witan elected Harold king of all England.

He reigned only five years, and when he died (in 1040) Hartha-cnut was chosen king in his stead. Two years later, Hartha-cnut died suddenly at a marriage feast at Lambeth, as he stood up to drink the bride's health. With him the Danish line became extinct, and the crown returned to the house of Egbert and Alfred.

Edward, son of Ethelred the Unready and Emma, daughter of Richard of Normandy, was elected king in 1042. He was called the Confessor—that is, the priest—because of his saintly character. Edward was a better man than his father, but like him he was weak and indolent, and he left the government of England in the hands of the great earls.

Siward and Leofric were very powerful in their own earldoms, but Godwin was the greatest man in England. He was Earl of Wessex himself, his son Sweyn ruled over Hereford, Gloucester, and Oxford and his son Harold over East Anglia and Essex, while his daughter Edith was married to the king. The history of Edward's reign is largely taken up with the efforts of Godwin and his family to keep or to increase their power.

The king being half a Norman (through his mother), and having been brought up in Normandy, was fond of the Normans and their ways. He preferred Norman clergymen to English, because they were stricter and more learned, and more friendly.



Alfred submitting his Laws to the Witan. By John Bridgeman

to the Pope. Thus many Normans came to the English court, and began to get influence in the country.

Earl Godwin was opposed to the Normans, and there grew up two parties, a Norman party and an English party, very jealous of each other. At last, in 1051, the overbearing conduct of one of the foreigners, Count Eustace of Boulogne, caused a riot in Dover in which much blood was shed. Godwin refused to punish the English rioters, and he was therefore banished from the country.

In the following year he came back with a fleet and an army, and the Witan made peace between him and the king. They also banished the foreigners, so that the great evil seemed stronger than ever. When Godwin died, in 1053, his son Harold stepped into his place as Earl of Wessex, and he soon became as powerful as his father had been.

Sweyn, the son of Godwin, had been banished for wrong-doing, but two other sons, Gurth and Leofwine, ruled East Anglia and Kent, while a fourth, Tostig, became Earl of Northumbria when Earl Siward died. Thus all England, except Mercia, was in the hands of the family of Godwin. Tostig was a bad man, and had to be banished, but Harold ruled England well, as a good servant of the king, till 1066, when Edward died.

14. The Norman Conquest.

WHILE Edward the Elder, son of Alfred the Great, was struggling with the Danes in England, other bands of Northmen were settling on the northern shores of France. They occupied a rich and beautiful country, including the lower valley of the Seine. In 913 their leader, Rolf or Rollo, made his peace with the King of France, and became the first Duke of Normandy.

His followers soon adopted French ways and the French language and Normandy became one of the most flourishing parts of France. Its inhabitants kept their old name, only

slightly changed from Northmen to "Normans," but they were no longer barbarians. They were as brave and warlike as ever, and they made great progress in the arts, especially the art of war. So the Duke of Normandy was a great prince, almost as powerful as the French king.

The duke who ruled Normandy during the reign of Edward the Confessor was William, afterwards known as William the Conqueror. He was born in 1028, the son of Duke Robert and Herleva, the daughter of a tanner. He was only seven years old when his father died. As he grew up he showed great ability. When he was a youth of nineteen, the whole western half of Normandy broke out in revolt. With the aid of the King of France, William defeated the rebels, and after that he never had much trouble with his Norman subjects.

In 1051 he paid a visit to his cousin Edward, King of England. It was the time when Earl Godwin was in exile, and the foreign party was supreme at the English court. What happened we do not exactly know, but before William left Edward, who had no children of his own, made some sort of promise that the duke should be his heir. Of course Edward had no right to do this, but the promise was made much of afterwards.

A little later another thing happened, to William's advantage. Harold, while Earl of Wessex, was shipwrecked on the coast of France, and fell into the duke's hands. William sent him back to his own country, but not before he had sworn on holy relics that he would help William to be king of England.

In spite of this, Harold became king himself. He had no better right by inheritance than William had, but he had governed so long and so well for Edward that the old king on his deathbed recommended him as his successor. The Witan elected him, and he was crowned on January 6, 1066.

As soon as William heard of this, he resolved to invade England. The Pope was much offended because a Norman Archbishop of Canterbury had been turned out, and an English-

The Bayeux Tapestry (Portion showing scenes from the Battle of Hastings)



man named Stigand had been put in his place without his consent. He therefore blessed William's project, and sent him a consecrated banner. So during the summer of 1066 William gathered a great fleet and army and made all ready.

Meanwhile Harold had great difficulties to deal with, and he dealt with them manfully. His brother Tostig, who had been turned out of his earldom of Northumbria, gathered a fleet and army to win it back. He was joined by Harald Hardrada, King of Norway, who wished to seize the English crown. The king and Tostig together sailed up the Humber to York in September 1066.

They were met by Edwin, Earl of Mercia, the grandson of old Leofric, and his brother Morcar, who had been made Earl of Northumbria in Tostig's place, but the two earls were defeated (September 20). Harold, who had been waiting for William on the southern coast, had to hurry north to meet the invaders. On September 25 he fought and won the battle of Stamford Bridge, in which Harald Hardrada and Tostig were both slain.

Four days later (September 29) William landed at Pevensey. Harold's troops were sorely tired with marching and fighting, and his brave house-carls had lost heavily in the fight at Stamford Bridge. But as soon as he heard of William's landing, he started for the south. He sent for Edwin and Morcar to join him, but they would not come, so he went on without them, and took up his position on Senlac Hill, near Hastings.

There he was attacked by William on October 14. Harold had only his house-carls, and some hasty levies from London, Kent, and East Anglia. They all fought on foot, and only the king's bodyguard were really well armed. The Normans, on the other hand, had cavalry and archers, besides a large body of well-armed foot-soldiers.

The battle was long and bloody, and for some hours the English, who had the advantage of the position, held their own. Time after time the Normans charged up the slope, only to be beaten back. Duke William himself was in the thickest of the

fight. Even when, by feigning flight, he had drawn off some of Harold's men, and thrown his army into disorder, the battle still went on. But at last numbers and superior weapons told, and before nightfall Harold and his two brothers and almost all their men lay dead on the fatal hill.

The battle of Hastings was decisive. The only man who could lead the nation was gone. The Witan, indeed, met hurriedly, and chose as king Edgar the *Ætheling*, the grandson of Edmund Ironside, but he had no following in the country. William, having secured his communications with the Continent by taking Dover and other strong places, marched on London with an overpowering force. The capital yielded, as did the earls Edwin and Morcar and the king-elect Edgar the *Ætheling*, and William, coming to Westminster, was there elected and crowned king on Christmas Day, 1066.

For the second time within fifty years England had been conquered by a foreign prince. But this prince made his new country so strong that she was never conquered again. The Norman Conquest was the last of those great conquests which made the kingdom of England. The foundations of the state were now laid.

I 5. English Society before the Norman Conquest.

BETWEEN the coming of the English and the coming of William the Conqueror there was a space of six hundred years, but English society developed very slowly in that long period. Though certain alterations had taken place, the constitution of government and society, as well as the life of the people, remained essentially the same. The Norman Conquest introduced a progressive element into the nation, and gave an impulse to growth which soon worked great changes.

In the first half of the eleventh century, the whole population of England did not number more than two millions.

The people were still divided into nobles, freemen, and serfs, as we find them soon after the English Conquest. The class of slaves, never very numerous, had almost disappeared, chiefly through the influence of the church. On the other hand, owing to long wars, bad harvests, and faulty methods of agriculture, the number of freemen had largely diminished. The bulk of the lower classes in the country districts consisted of serfs, who were forbidden to leave the estate on which they lived, and were bound to serve their lords.

The great nobles had become very powerful, possessing large estates, over which they ruled in a patriarchal fashion. Even the smaller nobles and the gentry, including every lord of a manor, enjoyed rights of jurisdiction over their poorer neighbours. There were, however, no hard-and-fast lines drawn between classes. It was indeed difficult for a serf to raise himself into the condition of a freeman, unless he could escape to a town and live there uncontrolled for a year and a day. But a "ceorl" or freeman could become a "thane" or noble, by acquiring a certain amount of land, or by making three voyages in his own ship across the seas, and in other ways. In the church, too, any man, however humbly born, could rise to the highest positions, and thus the church was a bond of union between classes.

The great bulk of the population was still agricultural. An ordinary "manor" consisted, in the first place, of the lord's "domain"—that is, his private land—cultivated by the serfs, who dwelt, for the most part, in wretched huts under the protection of the great house. These serfs had each his little holding of land, the better class having as much as thirty acres each, which they cultivated when they were not working for their lords. The freemen of the township or village lived in their homesteads or little farms, scattered over the parish.

The best meadow land was partitioned off for hay, every freeman having a portion. When the hay-harvest was over, the fences were thrown down, and all who had the right could feed their cattle freely over the whole space. The corn land was cut up into little strips, which were allotted annually, or

at longer intervals, to the villages. The ploughing was all done by oxen, eight being yoked to a single plough.

The pasture land was held in common and beyond the pastures lay the waste, the wild scrub or forest, where the swine wandered at will, feeding on the beech-mast and acorns that fell from the great trees. Cattle were the most valuable property that the villagers possessed, but the swine were more numerous than the cattle. Large quantities of bees were also kept, the honey being used for brewing "mead," and for preserves. Meat was regularly salted for winter consumption, indeed the salt industry was one of the most important in the country.

The towns were for the most part very small—mere villages, clustered round some royal "burgh" or fortress, or gathered at some natural meeting-place, such as the junction of two rivers. They had as yet no municipal government, and hardly differed from the rural districts in anything but their denser population. London, however, was already a huge and important place, and the seaports on the south-eastern coast were rising into fame. By the time of Edward the Confessor, if not earlier, the ports of Kent and Sussex had acquired certain rights on condition of supplying ships for the defence of the coasts.

There was little foreign trade, and what exports there were consisted entirely of raw materials—lead, tin, hides, and wool. All luxuries were imported. Inland trade was carried on at markets and fairs, some of which were largely frequented. For all ordinary purposes of life every village was self-supporting. Architecture was of the rudest. Stone was used only for churches, domestic houses were built of wood or wattle, and thatched with straw or rushes. The windows had no glass, shutters and curtains were used instead. There were no fortifications of stone, the only fortresses being earthworks crowned with palisades. The only arts carried to any degree of excellence were weaving and embroidery, and the illumination of manuscripts.

Though life was rude and habits were coarse, a rough

plenty seems to have prevailed. The peasant had food enough, except when there was a famine in the land, or when an invading enemy destroyed his crops and drove off his cattle. Nor was amusement wanting. Books were hardly to be found except in monasteries, none but the clergy could write, and few others could read, but there were outdoor sports of many kinds.

PART II

THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

16. William I. as King of England.

IN one sense the Norman conquest of England occupied only a few weeks, in another sense it occupied nearly five years. William had won the crown by Christmas 1066, but the year 1071 was half over before he had secured his conquest. It seemed an easy matter to overthrow Harold, but thereafter the country had to be conquered bit by bit.

William's election and coronation made a great difference in his position. Henceforward he was King of England, and opposition to him was no longer resistance to a foreign invader, but rebellion against a lawful sovereign. On this account we find William dealing much more severely with his opponents after his coronation than before it.

The first insurrection broke out in the west of England in 1067. William had returned to Normandy early in the year, but he now came back to England, and speedily put down all resistance. Immediately afterwards the north rose, under Edwin and Morcar, but William promptly suppressed the rising (1068).

In 1069 his power was threatened on all sides. There was a second revolt in the north, the Welsh crossed the western border, Malcolm, King of Scotland, allowed Edgar the

Ætheling to lead a Scottish army to the help of the northern rebels, while Sweyn, King of Denmark, also sent aid to the English. But William was a match for all his enemies. Within a year he had crushed the revolt everywhere, except in the fens of Cambridgeshire, where a gallant Englishman named Hereward still held out. At last he too was forced to give way, and with the capture of Ely (1071) the Norman Conquest was complete.

From this time forward William had nothing to fear from his English subjects. In 1072 he invaded Scotland, and forced King Malcolm to do him homage. After this, the only trouble William had was with his Norman barons, who conspired against him in 1074, and with his son Robert, who rebelled in 1078. But nothing could shake William's hold on what he had won, and when he died (in 1087), in the midst of a war with France, he was what the conquest of England had made him—the greatest prince in Western Europe.

We have seen how William won England, we have now to see what he did to keep it. Like Cnut, William tried, when he had once conquered the country, to rule it as an English king. Therefore he made a careful inquiry into the English laws, and re-enacted them with certain amendments. This did much to conciliate the people in general.

William also maintained the courts of the shire and the hundred, only giving more power to the sheriff, because he represented the king. He also revived and developed King Edgar's system of police. He protected the towns, and gave a charter to London, promising the citizens good laws and the maintenance of their rights. Thus the system of local government remained much as it was.

But the central government underwent a great change. The power of the crown was greatly increased, owing to several causes. To begin with, the country was united as it never had been since the time of the Romans, so that William was the first real king of all England. There were no more great earls like Godwin and Leofric. William made only three or four earls, and these he placed over counties where there was special

need for strong governors, such as Cheshire and Shropshire on the Welsh border

Another thing that made William very strong was that, partly through conquest, partly through the system which the king's lawyers introduced, all the land in England was held to belong to the king. William kept a great deal of land for himself. The rest he let out to his great vassals (tenants-in-chief), on condition of their contributing so many armed horsemen, or knights, to his army. The great men let out their land again in turn to others (sub-tenants) on like conditions.

By means of this plan England was, as it were, garrisoned by a body of great military landlords, all bound to help the king to the best of their power. To guard against the great men becoming too strong and using their tenants against him, William distributed the holdings of each of them over the country, so that it was difficult for any one of them to unite his forces. He also made all the landholders in England, whether they were his tenants-in-chief or their sub-tenants, swear an oath to obey him personally. This was done at a great meeting on Salisbury Plain in 1086.

With a similar object, William made in the same year, 1086, the great survey of all England which is called Domesday Book, probably because it seemed to men of the time something like the great reckoning of Judgment-day. The names of all the landowners and the amount of their property, the quantity of land under cultivation, the number of persons, the cattle, the mills, the ploughs—all this and much besides was entered in this wonderful book, which may be seen in London at this day. By means of this survey William knew just what England was, and how much it was worth. No knowledge could have been more useful to him.

Finally, what did most perhaps to make William strong was the fact that both the Normans and the English depended on him. The Normans could not have held England for a day without his leadership, the English looked to him as their only protector against the Norman lords. Upon this foundation his power stood firm.



Coronation of William the Conqueror By John Gross [The scene of alarm within Westminster Abbey which occurred during the coronation]

The results of the Norman Conquest were felt in the church, the army, the great council—in fact, in every department of the national life. They are written on every page of our later history, and we shall discover many of them as we go on. But the most important of all is that which we have just examined—the final union of England under an absolute monarchy.

17. Lanfranc and Anselm.

ONE of the first effects of the Norman Conquest was that the English Church was brought into closer relations with the Pope. As soon as William felt that his authority was secure, he deposed Stigand, the English archbishop who had been put in the place of Robert the Norman in 1052. The man whom William chose for archbishop was Lanfranc, an Italian from Pavia, who was at that time Abbot of Bec in Normandy. Lanfranc had long been a trusted counsellor of William, and he remained the chief man in England after the king to the end of his days.

Gradually all the other sees in England were filled with foreigners, so that by the end of William's reign there was only one English bishop in office. Now, as all these foreign bishops were favourable to the Pope, the papal authority became very strong in England. Moreover, one of the greatest churchmen that have ever lived, Hildebrand, became Pope at this time, under the name of Gregory the Seventh, and he was the first Pope to insist on the supremacy of Rome over all other powers.

To accomplish this it was necessary to make the clergy into a sort of army, separate from the world, and obedient only to their general, the Bishop of Rome. With this object the marriage of the clergy was strictly prohibited, and simony (that is, the sale of church livings) was declared illegal. William was quite willing to sanction these and other reforms, but he refused to allow the Pope supreme authority in England.

He retained the appointment of bishops in his own hands, declined to do homage to the Pope, and would not permit him to excommunicate any English vassals without the king's leave. But he gave the bishops separate law courts in which to try ecclesiastical cases. This tended to make the clergy a class apart, and had very important results.

Lanfranc remained archbishop for two years after William's death (1087), under his second son and successor, William the Second, called Rufus from his red face and hair. So long as Lanfranc lived, Rufus behaved decently towards the church, but when the archbishop died (1089), the king showed himself a grasping and ruthless tyrant.

He appointed no one in Lanfranc's place, and he kept several other bishoprics vacant. Thus the church fell into disorder, while Rufus seized its revenues and annexed its lands. But in 1093 he fell ill, and, alarmed for the safety of his soul, he sent for Anselm, another Abbot of Bec, and made him archbishop.

Anselm was, like Lanfranc, an Italian, but he was very unlike Lanfranc in many respects. Both were strong churchmen, but Lanfranc was a statesman too—discreet, tactful, and not above intrigue. Anselm was a man of the highest principles and the most saintly life, but he was not a politician.

He was very unwilling to become archbishop, for he knew the king with whom he had to deal. But, once consecrated, he set himself fearlessly to oppose Rufus, and to turn him from his evil ways. William retaliated by charging Anselm with neglecting his duty as a great vassal of the crown in not contributing properly to the army. He also quarrelled with him because, when there was a dispute about the Papacy, Anselm insisted on recognizing one of the two claimants as Pope without the king's permission. At length, wearied out with endless disputes, Anselm left England in 1097, and went to Rome.

Three years later (1100) William Rufus died, shot with an arrow by one of his own men while hunting in the New Forest. His successor, Henry the First the Conqueror's youngest son, at once invited Anselm to return, and he came back to England.



A Tournament on London Bridge by R. Beavis

But while Anselm was in exile a great council had been held in Rome, in which it was declared by the heads of the church that henceforward the signs of spiritual authority should be conferred on bishops by the Pope alone

The conferring of this authority was called the "Investiture," because the bishop was "invested" with certain signs of his spiritual power. These signs—the ring with which the bishop wedded the church, and the crosier, or shepherd's crook, which indicated his pastoral duties—had been hitherto conferred by the king, and Anselm himself had received them from Rufus. But now he felt bound to follow the Pope, and demanded of Henry that he should accept the new rule.

Henry, like his father, had no mind to give up his rights, and firmly refused, whereupon Anselm left England again (1103). But Henry was not like Rufus. He admired Anselm, and felt that if the church were oppressed or in disorder the state could not be happy. So a compromise between them was brought about in 1106. By this treaty it was arranged that the bishop should first of all be freely elected by the clergy to whom the right of election belonged, that the Pope should then confer the ring and crosier, but that the bishop should do homage to the king for his lands. Thus the right of appointment was divided, but the victory was really for the Pope and the church. After that, Anselm came back to England, and lived peaceably there till his death, in 1109.

18. The Feudal System and Norman Government.

IT was under the Norman kings that the feudal system was established in England. It was not introduced all at once, but grew up gradually. The beginnings of it can be seen under the early English kings, when the Danish wars forced many of the poor freeholders into dependent positions. But it

was not till after the Norman Conquest that we can say it really existed in England

The feudal system was at once a form of government and a state of society. Under it almost all power depended on the possession of land. But no land belonged absolutely to any one except to the king, all other landholders were his tenants, directly or indirectly—that is, they either held their land by a grant straight from the king, or they held it from others who were in that position. This holding of land involved duties as well as rights. The lord of the land could claim certain services from his tenant or vassal, and the vassal could claim in return protection from his lord.

The higher tenants held their lands by "knight service"—that is, they were bound to serve their lord in war, and this was the most honourable service. The humbler tenants served their lord in other ways—they had to reap his crops or to plough his land, sometimes they merely paid rent in money or in produce.

The lord had also other rights. He held a law court in which he did justice among his tenants, and in which the tenants were bound to appear. He could also levy taxes on his tenants under certain conditions, and when a tenant died, the heir had to pay a fine to the lord before he could have his land.

The great danger of this system was that the barons would come to stand between the king and his other subjects, and, through their control over their tenants, be able to defy his authority. The English barons never became so powerful as those of France and Germany, but they were very strong. They had vast landed properties and large bodies of tenants under their jurisdiction. Also, many of them held important offices, as earls, or sheriffs of the counties, or as officials at court.

They could not oppress their free tenants, for these could appeal to the king for justice, but the great mass of the people who cultivated their estates were quite at their mercy, for in the eye of the law they were "unfree". This did not mean that they were slaves, but that they were serfs, or, as they were

then called, "villeins" They could not move from one estate to another, they had to work for their lord whenever he pleased, and if they were oppressed beyond what was customary, they had no legal remedy.

The barons and the heads of the church met together two or three times in the year, in the Great or National Council. They met on the king's summons, usually at Westminster, Winchester, or Gloucester. The National Council under the Norman kings was a continuation of the Anglo-Saxon Witan; but strong as the barons were on their own estates, they had not much power in the assembly.

The Council discussed great affairs of state. Sometimes it acted as a court of justice for men of high rank, sometimes it debated on the laws—but there were very few laws passed in the Norman times.

The Norman kings seem generally to have acted pretty much as they pleased, without paying great attention to the views of the Council, still, the opinions of so august an assembly doubtless had some weight even with the Norman despots. At all events the meetings of the Great Council kept alive the principle that the nation ought to be consulted, and paved the way for a national Parliament.

The real work of government was carried on by the king, with the aid of his great officers of state. The chief of these was the justiciar. He was originally appointed by William the First to act as viceroy when the king was out of England. But under Henry the First he became a permanent official, a sort of prime minister, with special control, as chief justice, of the king's high courts of law.

The second great officer was the chancellor, who was at the head of the "chancery"—that is, the office where the king's writs (decrees, appointments, judicial decisions, etc.) were prepared. The third in order was the treasurer, who watched over the king's "hoard," paid his servants, and kept the accounts of the revenue.

It was the business of the sheriffs to collect the revenue and to pay it into the "exchequer," as the office in which the

revenue and expenditure were managed was called. There the treasurer sat, with the justiciar and other great officers of state, to settle disputes about the revenue, and thus the exchequer gradually became a great law court.

There was also another great court, for dealing with other legal matters in which great men were concerned. This was the "Curia Regis," the king's court. It was presided over by the justiciar, assisted by the other great officials, for in those days there was no special class of lawyers, and the officers of state not only knew all the law there was, but they were making it day by day through their decisions in these courts.

It was by means of these men and these two great courts that the royal power was chiefly maintained throughout the kingdom. In the country districts the courts of the hundreds and counties, and in the towns the borough courts, went on working as before. But during this time more and more of the local jurisdiction fell into the hands of the great lords.

19. The Growth of Scotland.

IN the year 843 Kenneth MacAlpin united the Picts and the Scots in one kingdom. At this time Scotland was bounded on the south by the Firths of Clyde and Forth, and was almost purely Celtic. The south-western part of modern Scotland—that is, the kingdom of Strathclyde or Galloway—was still independent of the north. The south-eastern quarter, called Lothian, formed part of the kingdom of Northumbria.

The series of events which led to the addition of these districts to the kingdom of Scotland began with the settlement of numbers of Norsemen in Northumbria and also in Cumbria. In the first place, this loosened the hold of the English kings on the north of England. In the second place, it formed a barrier which cut off the English from Lothian in the east and from Strathclyde in the west.

Though Scotland suffered from the attacks of the Danes,

who conquered the Orkneys and the Hebrides, and part of the northern mainland, the Danish invasions were, on the whole, profitable to Scotland, for the Scottish kings were able to take advantage of the weakness of their English rivals. During the ninth century the Scots managed not only to establish their authority over their Celtic kinsmen in Strathclyde, but to win Lothian as well.

How this conquest of Strathclyde and Lothian took place we are not clearly told, but we know that when the English kings recovered their power in the tenth century, they found these lands in the possession of the Scottish kings. But in the next reign Northumbria south of the Tweed was recovered by the English. This drove the Scots to join the Danes and the Strathclyde Celts in the great attack on Athelstan which ended in the battle of Brunanburgh. In spite of this defeat the Scots still held the country north of the Tweed.

When Edmund, King of England, conquered Cumbria (945), he handed it over to Malcolm the First, King of Scotland, to hold as a "fief" of the English crown, and a little later Edgar and his Witan granted Lothian to Malcolm in the same way. The English earls of Northumbria disputed the claim of the Scots to what had once been part of their earldom, but they were not strong enough to resist Scotland single-handed, and in 1018 the battle of Carham (on the Tweed) made the Tweed the boundary between the two kingdoms.

After this there was for some time a period of confusion in Scotland, during which took place the famous murder of Duncan by Macbeth. But Macbeth was himself overthrown by Malcolm the Third, son of Duncan, with the aid of Siward, the English Earl of Northumbria.

A few years after Malcolm's accession, the Norman Conquest drove many English across the Border. Among these were Edgar Ætheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, and his sister Margaret. Malcolm married Margaret, and took up the English cause against William. He did this, however, more for his own advantage than for the sake of the English, and when he invaded England he committed terrible ravages.

At length, in 1072, William marched north, and forced Malcolm to submit and do homage, as the Scottish kings had done since the time of Constantine. This did not, however, prevent Malcolm from invading England several times again, and in the last of these invasions he was defeated and slain, on the banks of the Alne, in 1093.

Although Malcolm was so often engaged in war with the King of England, English influence increased in Scotland during his reign. This was chiefly owing to the number of English who took refuge in Scotland, and especially to Malcolm's queen, the English princess Margaret, who did her best to restore religion, and in other ways to civilize her adopted country. She persuaded the Scottish monks, called "Culdees," to submit to a stricter rule, and she built or restored several great abbeys. Though she died soon after her husband, the good work she had done survived her.

* * *

20. England, Normandy, and France.

THE Norman Conquest differed from the previous conquests in that it set up a close connection between England and the Continent, a connection that lasted for five centuries.* That was a very serious matter for England, because she could no longer stand aloof from continental affairs, and in fact the possessions of the English kings in France led to a series of wars between these two countries, which spread over several centuries.

William the First left Normandy to his eldest son, Robert, and England to his second son, Rufus. But Rufus soon became master of both, for in 1094 Robert, who was anxious to go on a crusade, pledged Normandy to his brother for a large sum of money. Rufus took over the government of the duchy, and ruled it till his death (1100).

* A slender connection exists still in the possession of the Channel Islands by Great Britain.

When Henry the First came to the English throne, Robert recovered his duchy. But he soon got into trouble with his own subjects, and Henry made war upon him and defeated him at Tinchebrai, in Normandy (1106). Robert was captured, and Henry kept him in prison for the rest of his life. Thus, forty years after Normandy had conquered England, England reconquered Normandy.

The French king, Louis the Sixth, was jealous of Henry, and tried to break his power. But Henry was more than a



FRENCH POSSESSIONS OF HENRY II

match for him, and after two wars forced him to make peace on his own terms. By the treaty of 1119 Henry was acknowledged to be not only Duke of Normandy, but also Count of Maine and overlord of Brittany. His friendship was naturally courted by other powers. His daughter, Matilda, was married first to the Emperor, Henry the Fifth, and afterwards to Geoffrey, Count of Anjou.

Thus, by the end of his reign, Henry had no one to fear, either at home or abroad. His only sorrow—but it was a

grievous one—was that he left no son to succeed him, for his only son William was drowned in the *White Ship*, while crossing the Channel (1120). When Henry died, in 1135, it was not clear who was his heir.

Henry's daughter, Matilda, had the best right to the throne, but the rule of a woman was distasteful to the rough barons and knights, and Matilda's son, Henry, was a mere child. Consequently, both Matilda and her son were passed over, and Stephen, a grandson of the Conqueror through his daughter Adela, was chosen king.

We shall pass over, for the present, Stephen's troubled reign in England, for nothing important happened in it with respect to the relations of England with the Continent. Stephen had lands of his own in France, but the duchy of Normandy did not come into his hands. As Matilda could not be duke, her rights went over to her son Henry, who became Duke of Normandy on the death of his grandfather, Henry the First.

The young duke, while still a boy, was a great prince, for with Normandy went Maine, and the overlordship of Brittany. When his father, Geoffrey of Anjou, died (1151), he became also Count of Anjou and Touraine. On the death of Stephen (1154), Henry became King of England as Henry the Second. Thus wider possessions were brought together than the Norman kings had ever held.

But this was not all. For in 1152 Henry had married Eleanor, Countess of Aquitaine, the greatest heiress in France. By this marriage he got Aquitaine and also Poitou, between the Loire and the Charente. Thus he was not only King of England, but also master of all the western half of France. His kingdom extended from the Tweed to the Pyrenees, and it seemed quite possible that all France might be swallowed up in this great empire.

Naturally the King of France seized every chance of harassing Henry and preventing him from growing more powerful. There were repeated wars between them, at the end of which they were left pretty much as they had begun. One great reason why Henry failed to beat the French king was

that his empire consisted of many different provinces, and was therefore not so strong as it looked. Another reason was that Henry was much hampered, especially towards the end of his reign, by rebellions in which his own sons took part.

In his domestic life their father set them a very bad example. His misconduct drove his wife Eleanor to oppose him, and he kept her in prison all the latter part of his reign. It was partly on account of their mother that the sons rebelled. In the last of these rebellions Henry had great difficulty in making head against the rebels, aided as they were by the French king.

He was worn out with the toils of government, and was lying ill at his castle of Chinon in Touraine, when he discovered that his youngest and best-loved son, John, was among the rebels. This was too much for Henry. He turned his face to the wall and died (1189). His great empire passed to the elder of his rebellious sons, who ascended the throne of England as Richard the First.

21. The Reforms of Henry II.

UNDER the first three Norman kings the government was very strong, but under the fourth, Stephen, it broke down altogether. Though Stephen's title to the throne was not very good, that would not have stood in his way if he had been able to rule, but he was a weak though well-meaning man, and was quite unable to resist the powerful barons. He tried to conciliate them with titles and offices, and many of them were allowed to build castles, and to fill them with armed men.

A rebellion in favour of the Empress Matilda, Henry the First's daughter, soon broke out. Stephen might have put it down had he not fallen out with the church. He foolishly imprisoned the Bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury, and made them give up their castles. This set the church against him, and he never recovered his authority.

The war between him and Matilda went on, with varying success, for fifteen years. During that time the country was given over to anarchy, and the condition of the poorer classes was miserable. "Men said openly that Christ and His saints slept." At last a peace was made at Wallingford between Stephen and Henry, the son of Matilda (1153). Next year Henry, the first of the Angevin kings—that is, the kings of the House of Anjou—succeeded to the throne.

Stephen's reign had shown the evils of feudalism only too clearly. The weakness of the crown and the independence of the baronage meant disorder, oppression, crime—in a word, ruin to the state. It was Henry's main object, all through his reign, to put a stop to this condition of things. He attained it by appealing to the nation at large against the turbulent nobility.

The National Council under the Norman kings had consisted of the great barons only. They had met occasionally, but more for show than for business. Under Henry the Second the National Council met often, and took a real share in the government. It discussed the taxes, passed great statutes, and debated on important affairs of state. Moreover, on several occasions the National Council was attended by the smaller barons, who later on were represented by the elected knights of the shire.

Still, the actual government remained in the hands of the king and his officials. The justiciar, the chancellor, and the treasurer discharged the same duties as before, the constable and the marshal mustered and led the army, the stewards and the chamberlain looked after the king's household.

The great Court of Exchequer now became very important as the central organ of government, and also as a high court of law for the decision of cases touching the revenue and property. The "Curia Regis" was divided into two courts, from one of which arose the judicial power of the Privy Council, while the other split up subsequently into the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas.

The king's judges also travelled through the country, and

decided cases in the county courts. For this purpose the country was divided into "circuits." A little later the guilt or the innocence of prisoners began to be decided by a "jury," at first composed of persons who were supposed to know the fact, of the case. Gradually, however, they came to give their verdict on the evidence of witnesses, and thus "trial by jury" was established.

The military reforms of Henry also tended to ally the nation with the crown, and to lessen the power of the nobility. Henry adopted the practice of taking a tax called "scutage" (shield-money) from the barons in lieu of personal service. The money thus raised enabled him to hire mercenaries for his foreign wars, who were of more use than the feudal vassals.

In the early English times every freeman had been bound to serve in the national army, called the "fyrd." This force was now reorganized. Every man had to provide himself with armour according to his means, and if there were doubts about this, a jury of his neighbours decided what arms he could afford.

With the towns Henry was on excellent terms. He gave them charters, conferring on them special privileges. They were allowed to choose their own officers and to collect their own taxes, and they were exempted from vexatious dues and tolls. The good order which Henry maintained enabled the towns to grow rich and prosperous, and they repaid him with active support.

One great sign of the growing prosperity must not be forgotten. Hitherto all the taxes were on land, because it was almost the only property worth taxing. But under Henry the Second taxes were first levied on other property—furniture, clothes, plate, and the like. Here again a jury of neighbours was called in to decide the value of the property in doubtful cases.

It is easy to see from all this how Henry's reforms must have educated the nation and strengthened the authority of the crown. The barons rebelled, but the people at large remained faithful to the king.

22. St. Thomas of Canterbury.

ONE of the most important events of Henry the Second's reign was his quarrel with Thomas, sometimes called Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. A somewhat similar quarrel was going on at the same time between the Pope and the Emperor—that is, the head of the Western Empire which Charles the Great had founded.

The quarrel was one of long standing. When Anselm was disputing with Henry the First about the appointment of bishops, the Pope claimed the same rights from the Emperor. After a long struggle the question was settled (1122) by each side giving up something to the other.

But as the power of the Popes increased, they began to aim at a general sovereignty in Europe. Open war between them and the Emperors was the result—a war which ended about 1250 in the final defeat of the Empire. Thus during the reign of Henry the Second, and for long afterwards, the great question in Europe was whether the church should be independent of the state or not.

Now, before the reign of Stephen, clergymen who did wrong had to appear before the ordinary courts, and received punishment like other people. But about this time they began to be tried in their own courts, and they often escaped with very light sentences. This bad custom caused much indignation, and Henry the Second resolved to restore the old rule.

He hoped for support from the archbishop, but that hope was bitterly disappointed. Thomas had risen entirely through the king's favour. While still young he had entered the service of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and had attracted the notice of Henry, who made him his chancellor. In this office he was so useful to the king that, when Theobald died, Henry made him archbishop.

Then came a great change. Thomas entirely gave up his gay and luxurious mode of life, and became very religious and ascetic. He also changed his views, and having hitherto been the king's best friend, he now set to work to oppose him.

The question that brought them into conflict was the claim of Henry that clerical offenders should be tried in the civil courts. The utmost penalty the church courts could inflict was to deprive a clergyman of his "orders." The king insisted that the guilty priest, after being "deprived," should be tried in the royal courts, and punished according to the ordinary law. The object Henry had most at heart was to enforce universal respect for the law, and if the clergy obtained exemption, he could hardly expect laymen to obey.

He therefore held a great meeting of the National Council to consider the question. The Council decided in favour of the king. Accordingly a great statute was passed, in which all the laws concerning the relations between church and state were laid down, and in particular it was enacted that the trials of accused priests were to take place in the way the king desired.

This statute was called the "Constitutions of Clarendon," from the royal palace in Wiltshire where the Council was held. When the Constitutions were laid before Thomas, he refused to sign them. After much persuasion he gave way, but he had no sooner promised to observe the laws than he got the Pope to absolve him from his promise.

Thereupon Henry set to work to coerce him. He demanded from the archbishop a sum of money which he had lent him. He charged Thomas with defrauding one of his servants of some land. Finally he accused him of grave misconduct in his capacity of chancellor.

How far these charges were true it is difficult to say, but it seems clear that Henry's conduct was neither politic nor generous. Thus persecuted, the archbishop appealed to the Pope, and went abroad, where he remained for several years. The king confiscated his estates, and gave them to his own friends.

The Pope would gladly have taken the side of the archbishop, but at the time he was in the midst of his quarrel with the Emperor, and he could not afford to make an enemy of Henry too. So the dispute dragged on till 1170, when a compromise was patched up. Thomas accepted the Constitutions, "saving

the rights of his order"—that is, of the church—a limitation which left the whole question open

Hardly had this partial reconciliation taken place, when the king put a fresh insult on Thomas by empowering the Archbishop of York to crown his eldest son, Henry—a form gone through in order to secure him the succession. Thomas, on his return to England, "excommunicated" the archbishop and others of his opponents.

Henry, then in Normandy, burst into a rage, and angrily asked why no one would rid him of "this proud priest." Some knights in his service took him at his word, crossed over to England, and murdered the archbishop at his own high altar. A cry of horror ran through Europe, and Henry felt he had lost his cause.

He purchased absolution from the Pope by giving up the "Constitutions"—at least that portion which dealt with the trials of the clergy. Thus the struggle ended with a victory for the church. But the victory was really worse than a defeat, for freedom from the law led to abuses which brought the church into grave disrepute, and were one of the causes of the Reformation.

23. Ireland down to the Anglo-Norman Conquest.

IN the seventh and eighth centuries, Ireland was in a fairly prosperous condition. Religion, education, and the arts flourished. The monastic schools were attended by huge numbers of eager students. Music and poetry were cultivated in the halls of the chiefs. Amazing skill was shown in jewellery and metal-work, while the arts of writing and illuminating were carried to greater perfection than in any other part of Europe at that time. The people, too, seem to have been contented with their state.

Towards the close of the eighth century, however, a great

change took place. It was at this time that the Norsemen appeared on the coasts of Ireland. The Irish were even less capable of resistance than the English, for they were less united, and they seem to have taken the opportunity of the presence of their enemies to make war on each other with more than usual ferocity.

About the year 850 the Norsemen occupied the best harbours on the Irish coast, from which they ravaged the country at their will. They also made common cause with their kinsmen in England, and a body of Danes from Dublin took part in the battle of Brunanburgh (937).

The man who freed Ireland from the Danes was Brian Boru, the younger brother of Mahon, King of Munster. Along with his brother, he defeated the Danes in a great battle, and took Limerick. Shortly afterwards Mahon was killed, and Brian became King of Munster (976). After more than twenty years of hard fighting, he took



IRELAND

Dublin from the Danes, and became king of all Ireland (1002).

Brian seems to have ruled well. He rebuilt the ruined churches and monasteries, and did what he could to restore his country to prosperity. But in 1013 the Danes, with the help of the men of Leinster, made a final effort to recover their old position. In the following year a great battle was fought at Clontarf, near Dublin, in which the Irish were completely victorious, but Brian, then an old man, was killed. Thus, just at the time when the Danish king Cnut was conquering England, the Danes lost their supremacy in Ireland.

86 Ireland down to Anglo-Norman Conquest

It might have been expected that the long struggle with the Danes would have led in Ireland, as it did in England and Scotland, to the union of the country under a strong monarchy. But, on the contrary, the danger from the Danes was no sooner over than the old discords broke out again.

When Henry the Second came to the English throne, things in Ireland were worse than they had been two or three centuries before. Education and art had almost disappeared, and religion was sadly decayed. As it seemed hopeless to expect union and order to come from within, Pope Adrian the Fourth (who was an Englishman) granted the sovereignty of Ireland to Henry the Second (1154).

Henry was for some time too busy elsewhere to attend to Ireland, but in 1168 his opportunity came. Dermot Mac-Murrogh, King of Leinster, was a bad man, and was expelled from his kingdom by Roderick O'Conor, who called himself King of Ireland. Dermot appealed to Henry, who gave him leave to get what help he could from his English vassals.

Dermot persuaded Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, to help him. Strongbow crossed over in 1170 with a mixed force of English, Normans, and Welsh. The allies soon took Dublin and Waterford, and conquered Leinster. Just after this Dermot died, and Strongbow, who had married Dermot's daughter Eva, claimed the throne. Thereupon Roderick O'Conor marched with a large army against the English, but he too was defeated, and Strongbow established his power.

It was now time for Henry to interfere. He recalled Strongbow, and required him to do homage to him for the kingdom of Leinster. Then he crossed to Ireland and held a great assembly, at which most of the Irish chiefs acknowledged him as their sovereign lord. The Irish clergy of course obeyed the Pope, and submitted too.

But it was only a strip along the eastern and south-eastern coast that was really conquered. This was called the English Pale. The rest of Ireland remained practically independent as before, only that there was constant fighting between the native Irish chiefs and the Anglo-Norman lords.



Murder of Becket By John Cross, in Canterbury Cathedral

The story of the conquest of Ireland is related for us in the history written by Gerald du Bourg, a clergyman, born in Wales, of mixed Norman and Welsh origin. He accompanied Strongbow to Ireland, and his works tell us much that is very interesting about the Irish and their way of life. Another notable writer of Henry the Second's time was Walter Map, who wrote many amusing poems. In some of these he held up the bad and drunken clergy to derision, in other works he laughed at the follies of the royal court.

24. Richard I. and John.

HENRY the Second's eldest son, Henry, had died before his father, so his second son, Richard, called Cœur-de-Lion (Lion-heart), succeeded as Richard the First (1189). Richard was very fond of fighting and adventure, and he therefore started on a crusade soon after he became king. He was joined by Philip, King of France, and Leopold, Duke of Austria.

The Crusades—so called because the Christians who fought in them wore the cross as their badge—had begun about a hundred years before this time. They were fought to recover the Holy Land from the Turks. The Crusaders had won Jerusalem, but the Turks had retaken it in 1187, and now held almost all Palestine. Their great leader, Saladin, was a match for any commander on the Christian side.

Richard performed wonderful feats of valour, and took Acre from the Saracens. But he quarrelled with Leopold and Philip, both of whom went home, and Richard had to turn back from Jerusalem without attempting a siege. On his way home through Germany he was kidnapped by the Duke of Austria, and kept in prison more than a year. His English kingdom had to pay a heavy ransom for his release, and he did not return to England till 1194.

Meanwhile his brother John had been making mischief in England. Taking advantage of Richard's absence, he tried to



The Preaching of the First Crusade—"God wills it!" By James Archer, R.S.A. (By permission of the Author's Company)



Crusaders on the March. By Sir John Gilbert R.A. In South Kensington Museum

get control of the government When Philip, King of France, came back from the crusade (1192), he intrigued with John against Richard, and John was treacherous enough to listen to him Disorder began to spread, and the country was only kept quiet by the influence of Eleanor, Henry the Second's widow, until the king's return.

Richard was a generous man, and he forgave John his treason But he left England immediately to make war on Philip, and remained in France for the rest of his reign While besieging the castle of a rebellious vassal, he was wounded with an arrow from a cross-bow, and died (1199) It says a great deal for the excellence of the government which Henry the Second had set up that the country was kept in order throughout Richard's reign, though the king was abroad almost the whole time

John, who succeeded Richard, was not the rightful heir to the throne His elder brother, Geoffrey, who died during Richard's reign, left a son, Arthur, who was Duke of Brittany But Arthur, being a boy, was passed over, and John was duly elected and crowned King of England On his accession he took a formal oath, before the assembled people, to keep the law and do justice to all If John had observed that oath, he might have had a prosperous reign, but he failed to do so, and gradually drove all classes in the country to unite against him

It was in Normandy that John's wickedness and folly were first made manifest The French kings had been growing in power, and they naturally desired to expel the English from France Therefore Philip, the French king, took up the cause of Arthur, John's nephew, and made war upon John in his behalf At first John had the best of it, and took Arthur prisoner The young duke was shut up at Rouen, and there he died (1203) As suspicion fell on John, Philip summoned him, as Duke of Normandy, to be tried by his peers, the great princes of France, but he refused to go

Thereupon Philip invaded Normandy, and John made no effort to resist him In a short time Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine were conquered by the French (1204);

nothing but Aquitaine (Gienne and Gascony) and Poitou remained to John. This was a great disgrace, both to John and to England. Many English barons who had lost their possessions in France naturally began to hate and despise the king.

Soon after this John quarrelled with the Pope. In 1205 Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, died. The monks of Canterbury wished to elect one candidate, John wished to appoint another. The Pope, Innocent the Third, put aside both candidates, and appointed Stephen Langton, a wise and excellent man.

John refused to acknowledge him. He was within his legal rights in resisting the Pope, and the nation was at first inclined to support the king. In order to coerce John, the Pope laid the kingdom under an "interdict," by which the churches were closed and all religious services prohibited (1208).

John retaliated by seizing the goods and lands of the church. Not content with thus making the clergy his enemies, he grossly insulted many of the barons, and he oppressed the people at large with grievous taxes. At length the Pope excommunicated John, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and granted his crown to Philip of France (1213).

Then John suddenly turned round, submitted to the Pope, and allowed Stephen Langton to take the office of archbishop. He even did homage to the Pope, and promised to pay him a yearly tribute. Thereupon the Pope withdrew the sentence of excommunication, and received John back into favour as his vassal. This humiliation was very unpleasant to the English people.

Having thus pacified his great enemy, John called on his barons to follow him to France. They refused, but John gathered a great army and crossed the Channel. He had little success, however, and his allies, the Emperor and the Count of Flanders, were utterly beaten by the French at Bouvines. Thus defeated and disgraced, John returned to England (1214) to meet his enraged subjects.

25. The Great Charter.

JOHN'S misgovernment had set all classes of the nation against him, and his defeat at Bouvines placed him at their mercy. Had he won the victory in France, he would have come back to England far stronger than before, and would have crushed all who dared to resist him. His defeat was therefore fortunate for England, leading as it did to one of the greatest steps in the growth of our constitution.

While John was abroad, the archbishop, Stephen Langton, had met the discontented barons at St Paul's, and had shown them a charter which Henry the First had granted on his accession to the throne. This charter had secured to the church the enjoyment of its lawful rights, to the baronage freedom from certain claims of the king as feudal lord, and to the nation at large the maintenance of ancient English law.

The barons now resolved to enforce on John the observance of Henry the First's charter, with such changes and additions as suited the circumstances of the time. When John returned to England in 1214, he at once demanded a heavy scutage from the barons who had not followed him to France. The barons rose in resistance to the demand. John tried to gain time, and meanwhile sought to pacify the church by offering compensation for the injuries he had done it, but the archbishop knew John to be as false as he was cruel, and refused to desert the barons.

As it became evident that John would only yield to force, the barons assembled an army, and marched on London, where they were willingly joined by the mayor and the citizens. Thence they went towards Windsor. John met them on the field of Runnymede, near Staines, where after long parley he agreed to affix his seal to the charter which the leaders placed before him (June 15, 1215).

This famous document, ever since known as *Magna Carta*, or the Great Charter, was a treaty of peace between John and his rebellious subjects. They agreed to return to their allegi-

ance, on condition that John promised, on his side, faithfully to maintain the law as laid down in the charter.

Thus the course of events had gradually welded the nation together. It was said, a generation before this, that a Norman and a Saxon could no longer be distinguished—they were all Englishmen. Magna Carta was the first great act of this united nation. Therefore it took care to secure the welfare of all classes alike.

First of all the clergy are protected. "Holy church is to be free, and to have its rights entire and its liberties undiminished." What these rights and liberties are is not expressly stated. The clergy no doubt thought it wiser to leave them vague.

The barons come next. Their rights are carefully guarded in a number of clauses. The king, as feudal lord, had many rights which he was only too ready to abuse. He levied excessive fines on the heir succeeding to his father's estates. If the heir was under age, he took charge of his estate and wasted the income, while he forced widows and heiresses to marry the suitors who would pay him highest.

Against these and many other abuses of royal power the charter protects the barons. And the rights which are thus secured for the barons against the king, are secured, in like manner, for the humbler tenants against the barons. Another group of clauses amends the harsh forest laws, and ensures justice for the dwellers within the forest bounds.

Still more important are the clauses dealing with scutage and other feudal "aids" or taxes. It is laid down that these shall only be levied with consent of the National Council, duly summoned, and that the Council is to consist in future not only of the great lords, but also of the smaller tenants-in-chief. Thus, for the first time, the right of granting taxes is conferred by statute on the representatives of the nation.

Finally, good law is secured for the people at large. "To none will we deny, to none will we delay or sell justice," the king is made to say. And again, "No freeman shall be punished save by the judgment of his peers or by the law of

the land" To give effect to these promises, precise rules are laid down for the procedure of the law courts and the conduct of the king's officials

No sooner had John sealed the charter than he cast about for means to rid himself of it He got the Pope to absolve him from his oath, and he then made war upon the barons In the middle of this struggle he died (October 1215) As his son and successor, Henry the Third, was a mere child, the government was carried on by Archbishop Stephen, and William, Earl of Pembroke, with the aid of the papal legate

The regents were in great difficulties A French army had landed, the Scots and the Welsh had crossed the border, and the whole country was in uproar But the young king's guardians were wise and able men. They confirmed the charter, and rallied all parties against the French, who were soon driven out

In two years order was restored, and the charter was issued a third time (1217) But the clauses concerning scutage and the National Council were now omitted, and a separate charter was issued dealing with the forests The Charter of Forests abolished the punishment of death for offences against the forest laws, and guarded against the tyranny of the king's foresters and the forest courts

From this time onward the two charters were always ranked together in popular estimation They were frequently confirmed by later kings, and, though violated over and over again, they were regarded by succeeding generations as the great bulwarks of public liberty

26. Scotland under English and Norman Influence.

MALCOLM CANMORE, who died in 1093, was the last of the old Celtic line of Scottish kings Under this line Scotland had grown to nearly double its former size, having taken in a large piece of English territory Malcolm had

married an English wife, and many English nobles were at the Scottish court

Naturally there were many Scotsmen who resented this English influence, and thus there grew up in Scotland two parties, an English and a Celtic party, like the Norman and English parties in England before the Norman Conquest. When Malcolm died, there was a struggle between these two parties for the upper hand.

There were several claimants for the throne, and for some time there was great confusion. At last, in 1097, William Rufus sent an army to Scotland, and Edgar, one of the sons of Malcolm and Margaret, was placed on the throne.

This was a triumph for the English party. But that party was no longer purely English, for the accession of King Edgar was mainly due to the Norman Rufus. It was now that many great Norman families, such as the Brucees and the Balliols, began to establish themselves in the south of Scotland. The influence of the Anglo-Norman party in Scotland was strengthened by the marriage of Henry the First with Matilda, daughter of Malcolm and sister of King Edgar.

This connection kept peace between England and Scotland for about forty years (1097-1138), during which the throne was held by Edgar and two of his brothers, Alexander the First and David the First. These three kings kept up the English alliance, and recognized the English kings as their feudal superiors, though the exact meaning of the homage which they did is doubtful. The Scottish kings almost always possessed some English land, such as Lothian, and maintained that they did homage for that alone, while the English kings tried to make out that homage was done for Scotland as well.

Strithclyde, including Cumberland, had been granted by King Edmund to the Scottish king in 954, and Cumberland was still held by Malcolm's successors. David the First was also Earl of Huntingdon, and he had claims on Northumberland through his marriage with the daughter of Waltheof, the last English earl. Thus the relation of the Scottish kings to the sovereign of England was not unlike that of the English

kings, as dukes of Normandy or Aquitaine, to the sovereign of France.

But the Celtic Highlanders disliked the growing influence exercised by English and Normans at the Scottish court, and several rebellions broke out, especially in Moray. When these were put down, David the First granted much of the land forfeited by the rebels to the Anglo-Norman knights who had assisted him. Thus Norman families and Norman customs were established in the Highlands, as well as in southern Scotland.

Both Alexander the First and David the First paid great attention to church reform. They carried on the good work begun by their mother, Queen Margaret. Many abbeys and bishoprics were founded during their time. Alexander also successfully resisted the claim of the Archbishops of York and Canterbury to superiority over the Scottish Church.

When Stephen was king in England, David took the side of his niece, the Empress Matilda. But he did this chiefly for his own advantage. He invaded the north of England, and committed great ravages. He was beaten by the men of Yorkshire in the Battle of the Standard, fought near Northallerton (1138), but Stephen was so hard pressed by his other enemies that he made peace next year. In this treaty, Stephen handed over to the Scottish king Northumberland and Durham, to be held of him in the same way as Cumberland was held.

Thus it seemed at this time as if the rest of Northumbria might soon follow the example of Lothian, and become Scottish, but Henry the Second forced Malcolm the Fourth to give up his claim to the northern English counties in 1157. It was something to balance this loss that Malcolm was able at length to reduce Galloway, hitherto half independent, to complete subjection.

William the Lion, who succeeded his brother Malcolm in 1165, was anxious to regain his English possessions. So, when Henry's sons rebelled against him, in 1174, William joined them. This was an unfortunate move, for William was taken prisoner, with many of his nobles, at Alnwick.

He was carried over to Normandy, and there, in the castle of Falaise, he was forced to sign a treaty by which he became the vassal of the English king, not for Lothian only, but for all Scotland. This subjection lasted, however, only a short time, for in 1189 Richard the First, anxious to raise funds for his crusade, sold his sovereignty to William for a huge sum of money. Thus William recovered his independence, and kept it till his death, in 1214.

27. The Misgovernment of Henry III.

WHEN Henry the Third came to the throne (1216) he was a child of nine years old. His reign was one of the longest in British history, for it lasted till 1272, a period of fifty-six years. Henry was a much better man than his father, King John. He was devout, virtuous in his private life, a good husband and father, as well as a patron of art and letters.

But for all that he was a bad king. He had no sense of public duty, he was indolent and careless, and was easily led astray by bad advisers. The most interesting thing in his long reign is to observe how these faults forced the nation to demand a share in the control of its own affairs, and how this tended to establish parliamentary government.

The first difficulties of Henry's reign were overcome, as we have seen, by his wise ministers—William, Earl of Pembroke, and Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. In this work they got much help from Gualo, the papal legate, but they resisted the papal claim of sovereignty.

When Gualo left England, his place was taken by Pandulf, another legate, who practically governed England for several years. At last Archbishop Stephen went to Rome, and persuaded the Pope to recall him (1221). Thus for a time this foreign authority was set aside, and the king's ministers recovered their rightful power.

The chief man in the country was now Hubert de Burgh,



King John granting Magna Carta. By Ernest Normand, in the
Royal Exchange London

the justiciar, for Earl William had died in 1219. He ruled the country well and wisely, putting down disorder with a strong hand. He got back the royal castles, many of which were still in the hands of John's mercenary captains, and he drove the chief of these men out of the country.

The Great Charter was again reissued (1225), and at the same time a large tax was granted to the king on condition of the charter being confirmed. Thus a great step was taken towards establishing the principle that the nation might bargain with the king, and insist on his doing something in return for their taxes.

In 1227 Henry, being now twenty years old, began to govern on his own account. It was not long before his leaning to evil counsellors began to cause trouble.

Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, who had been the king's tutor, had great influence over his old pupil. Peter was a bad man, and used this influence for his own advancement and that of his many friends. He was a foreigner himself—a native of Poitou—and he brought over many foreigners to England. Thus there arose a foreign party, which, by getting the ear of the king, obtained money and lands and offices, excluding native Englishmen from them due.

In 1232 Peter induced Henry to dismiss Hubert de Burgh, and as Stephen Langton was now dead, the king fell entirely under foreign influence. Things became so bad that Richard, a son of William, Earl of Pembroke, got up a party against the foreigners, and rebelled. He was, however, driven out, and died in 1234.

In the same year the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Rich, persuaded Henry to send away Peter des Roches from court. But this did little good, for in 1236 Henry married Eleanor of Provençal, and a crowd of hungry Provençals, including her four uncles, came over with the queen. One of her uncles became Archbishop of Canterbury (1241). Not only did these foreigners get wealth and dignity, but the government of the country fell largely into their hands.

It is during this reign that we first hear of the "King's Council," subsequently called the Privy Council, as a permanent

body. This council was composed of the great officers of state, and others whomsoever the king chose to appoint. It became important during Henry's minority, and when he came of age he continued to rule with its assistance.

The king's foreign favourites now got control of this body, and ruled very badly. The excellent judicial system which Henry the Second had set up was allowed to fall into decay. No justiciar was appointed in the place of Hubert de Burgh, and the circuits of the judges were neglected. Heavy taxes were levied, and the proceeds were spent on the king's favourites, or wasted in the extravagance of the court.

Meanwhile the Pope, being engaged in a desperate struggle with the Emperor, extorted large sums of money from the English Church. Foreign affairs were also very unsatisfactory. Henry made two expeditions to France—the one in 1231, the other in 1242—with a view to recovering his lost possessions, and both of these failed.

It was no wonder then that the country grew more and more discontented. At first the king's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, took the lead of the national party. But he soon grew lukewarm, and finally went off to Germany, where he was elected Emperor in 1257. His place at the head of the opposition was taken by a greater man—Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.

28. Simon de Montfort and the Parliament.

SIMON DE MONTFORT was a younger member of a noble French family, whose chief estate lay near the Seine, not far below Paris. His elder brother had a claim, by descent, on the earldom of Leicester, but as he could not serve both the King of France and the King of England, he resigned his claim to Simon, who went over to England about 1232 to demand his inheritance.



Hubert de Burgh and the Blacksmith. By Allan Stewart [A village blacksmith refuses to put fetters on 'the man who freed England']

Simon was well received at court, gained his earldom, and in 1238 married the king's sister, Eleanor. So far he appeared to be merely one of the king's foreign favourites, and his rapid rise made him very unpopular. But as Earl of Leicester he had become an Englishman, and henceforward his interests were those of his adopted country.

The king's misgovernment began about this time to provoke strong opposition in the National Council. When Henry returned from his unsuccessful expedition to France in 1242, and demanded a heavy tax, the barons in a body refused to pay. This was the first instance, so far as we know, in which an absolute refusal of taxes took place.

The national party appealed to *Magna Carta*, but in vain, for it was far easier to lay down the law than to enforce it. Attempts were made to coerce the king. In 1244 a committee of twelve great lords was appointed "to reform the state of the realm." Simon was a member of this committee, which shows that he was already on the side of the reformers.

Shortly afterwards he went to Gascony, to take charge of that province as governor. The province was in a state of anarchy, but he soon restored the king's authority. His severity, however, provoked complaints, to which the king lent too ready an ear. In 1253 he removed De Montfort from his office, an act of injustice which the earl never forgave.

In 1258 things had come to such a pass that the barons met in Parliament at Oxford in full armour, resolved to use force, if necessary, to gain their ends. They were led by Simon de Montfort and Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, a grandson of the regent Pembroke. The king, who had no force at his back, was obliged to grant the demands of the barons, drawn up in the so-called "Provisions of Oxford."

By this agreement a new Council, consisting of fifteen persons—bishops and barons—was appointed. The king was always to act by their advice. A Parliament was to meet thrice a year, on which occasions the Council was to attend, together with twelve other barons, who were to represent the community.

The great defect of this constitution was that the government fell into the hands of the great barons alone. No attempt was made to consult the nation at large. On this account the Earl of Leicester, though he supported the barons, never approved of the constitution.

At first the barons acted with energy. They drove out the foreigners, recovered the king's castles which were in foreign hands, and appointed good men to the great offices of state. But they soon began to quarrel among themselves, and to neglect the government. Thus they lost the support of the people. In 1261 the Pope absolved Henry from his oath to the "Provisions," the baronial government fell to pieces, and things went on as before.

A new opposition was now formed, of which Simon de Montfort took the lead. His party was supported by the clergy, the lesser barons, or, as we should call them, the country gentry, with London and the seaports, but the great barons mostly held aloof.

In 1263 Simon took up arms. After a short struggle, it was agreed to submit the Provisions of Oxford to the arbitration of Louis the Ninth, King of France. Louis decided entirely in favour of Henry, and decreed the abolition of the "Provisions." This was too one-sided a verdict, and the war was renewed. It ended in the total defeat of the king and his party at Lewes (May 1264).

The victory, which was won by the skill and courage of Earl Simon, made him master of the kingdom. He made use of his triumph to call a Parliament, at which four elected knights from each county were present. A constitution was established, under which the government was to be in the hands of a council of nine, to be appointed by a committee of three great men, called "electors." Of this committee Earl Simon was the chief.

But both the electors and the council were to be responsible to the Parliament. What Simon meant this Parliament to consist of was seen next year (1265), when two knights from every county and—for the first time in English

history—two burgesses from each of a number of boroughs were summoned to attend

But the forces arrayed against him were too strong. The great barons disliked his plans as much as the king. He had hardly been in power a year when Edward, the king's eldest son, escaped from custody, and raised an army, which was joined by most of the nobility. They at once attacked Earl Simon, who was beaten and slain on the field of Evesham, in August 1265.

His political plans fell with him. They were indeed in advance of the time, and being the outcome of rebellion they could not stand. But they showed the way of reform, and were afterwards carried out by the very man at whose hands the great earl had met his fate.

29. English Society in the Thirteenth Century.

WHEN Simon de Montfort died in 1265, almost exactly two centuries had passed since the Norman Conquest. During that period the English nation had made great advances in almost every direction. The rude codes of Alfred, Edgar, and other early English kings, still formed the foundation of English law, so far, at least, as the prevention of crime and the punishment of wrong doing were concerned. But the feudal system had altered the notion of landed property, and its rights and duties, as well as of the relations between man and man. The new law courts, resting on the king's authority, enforced a respect for judicial decisions which had never before been shown, while the jury system made every man feel his own responsibility in the doing of justice.

The church had become more important than ever in the state. The independence which it had acquired under Anselm and Thomas was at this time used for the good of the nation.

at large. The church was not only the chief representative of art and literature, but it took a prominent part in defending constitutional liberty, and it alone promoted education.

Two important additions had been made to the forces of the church since the Norman Conquest. The Benedictine rule, which had fallen into decay, was revived in the first years of the twelfth century by Stephen Harding, an Englishman, who founded a monastery at Citeaux in Burgundy, and by St. Bernard, a follower of Stephen, who outshone his master. In the reign of Henry the First this new monastic order (called the Cistercian from its original home at Citeaux) was introduced into England, and spread rapidly. Many of the most beautiful abbeys in England, such as Tintern on the Wye, Fountains in Yorkshire, and Glastonbury in Somerset, belonged to this order. The Cistercians usually settled in wild spots, where they devoted themselves largely to agriculture and sheep farming, turning the wilderness into fruitful ground, and setting a good example of industry and thrift.

A still greater change was produced by the Franciscans, an order founded by an Italian, St. Francis of Assisi, in 1208. The Franciscans were bound to abjure all worldly possessions. They were called "Friars"—that is, brothers, they did not live apart from the world, like the monks, but travelled about, preaching, and teaching the poor, and they supported themselves by begging. They came to England early in Henry the Third's reign, and settled down in the worst parts of the towns, where their presence was most required. At Oxford, they soon became important as teachers, and some, like the great Roger Bacon, were famous for their learning.

It was in the thirteenth century that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge first got the right of appointing their own officers and governing themselves as corporations. Large numbers of students are said to have visited Oxford in the reign of Henry the Third, and in the Barons' War all their sympathy was with Simon de Montfort.

A liberal education at this time consisted of two groups of studies. The first, or elementary group, comprised grammar,

rhétoric, and logic, and was intended to train the student in the use of words. It was called the *Triuum*. The more advanced group, called the *Quadrivium*, comprised arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. These subjects were called the Seven Liberal Arts, to distinguish them from the professional "faculties" of Law, Divinity, and Medicine.

Since the Norman Conquest the towns had grown remarkably. It was the interest of the crown to encourage their growth, both as a source of wealth to the state and as a balance to the power of the baronage. The kings therefore granted charters to many towns, conferring on them the right of self-government, within certain limits, as well as various commercial privileges and exemptions.

In such towns the merchants were allowed to form themselves into a "gild," a sort of corporation, with a place of meeting, the "gild-hall," and the right of settling commercial affairs. Each town held its own law courts and collected its own taxes. Its inhabitants were exempted from tolls and dues throughout the kingdom. London even obtained the right of electing its own mayor, and of farming the taxes of Middlesex. The "Cinque Ports," as the chief seaports of Kent and Sussex were called, were formed into a league, with joint rights and duties under a common government.

Trade and industry had largely increased. The exports were still practically confined to raw materials, but the export of wool, which was made into cloth in Flanders, had become very important. Many foreign merchants resided in the country, and special laws were passed for their protection. The Jews, too, did a large business as money-lenders, till their expulsion by Edward the First. Their place was taken by foreigners, chiefly Italians.

With the increase of wealth, it was natural that the arts, and especially architecture, should improve. The Normans were great builders both of castles and of churches. The great fortresses of stone, with their square and massive "keeps," or towers, such as we see in the Tower of London and elsewhere, date from the Norman times. We can distinguish them cathe-

ditals by the rounded arches and the massive columns, such as those of Durham and Ely

About the time of Richard the First the style of building changed the pointed arch came into fashion the decoration became richer, and the columns became lighter and more elegant. Towards the end of Henry the Third's reign the most beautiful churches in England were built, such as Westminster Abbey and Salisbury Cathedral. Domestic buildings, too, were now often made of stone.

The ruling class talked, at this time, a dialect called Norman-French. Latin was the language of the clergy, but French was beginning to take its place with the lawyers. The language of the people had changed widely from the Anglo-Saxon form, and was becoming much more like modern English, while many words of French or Latin origin were becoming incorporated in it. In this way as in others the foreign influences which came in with the Norman Conquest, and were strengthened by Henry the Second's French possessions, were making themselves strongly felt.

PART III

CROWN AND PARLIAMENT.

30. The Reforms of Edward I.

THE Barons' War, as it was called, was not brought to an immediate close by the battle of Evesham. The struggle dragged on for two years longer, but at last the relics of Simon's party submitted, and quiet was restored (1267). Thus old King Henry was enabled to pass the end of his days in peace.

When he died, in 1272 his son Edward, who succeeded him as Edward the First, was away on a crusade in the Holy Land. He had some stirring adventures there, but before he could do anything decisive he was called home. It was nearly two years after his father's death before he reached England.

Edward was stern and severe against those who offended him, but he was prudent, just, and generous. His motto was "Keep troth," and he was faithful to it. He loved power, but he bowed to the law, and he knew that, to be strong and successful, the government must be supported by a willing people. He was a great soldier and a still greater statesman. Though not without his faults, he was, with the possible exception of Alfred, the greatest king that England ever had.

In his domestic policy Edward the First closely resembled Henry the Second. His main object like that of his great-

grandfather, was to strengthen the crown by establishing good government, by doing justice, and by improving the condition of the people at large. Allying himself with the middle classes he curbed the power of the nobility, and, while protecting the church, he refused to allow it to be independent of the state.

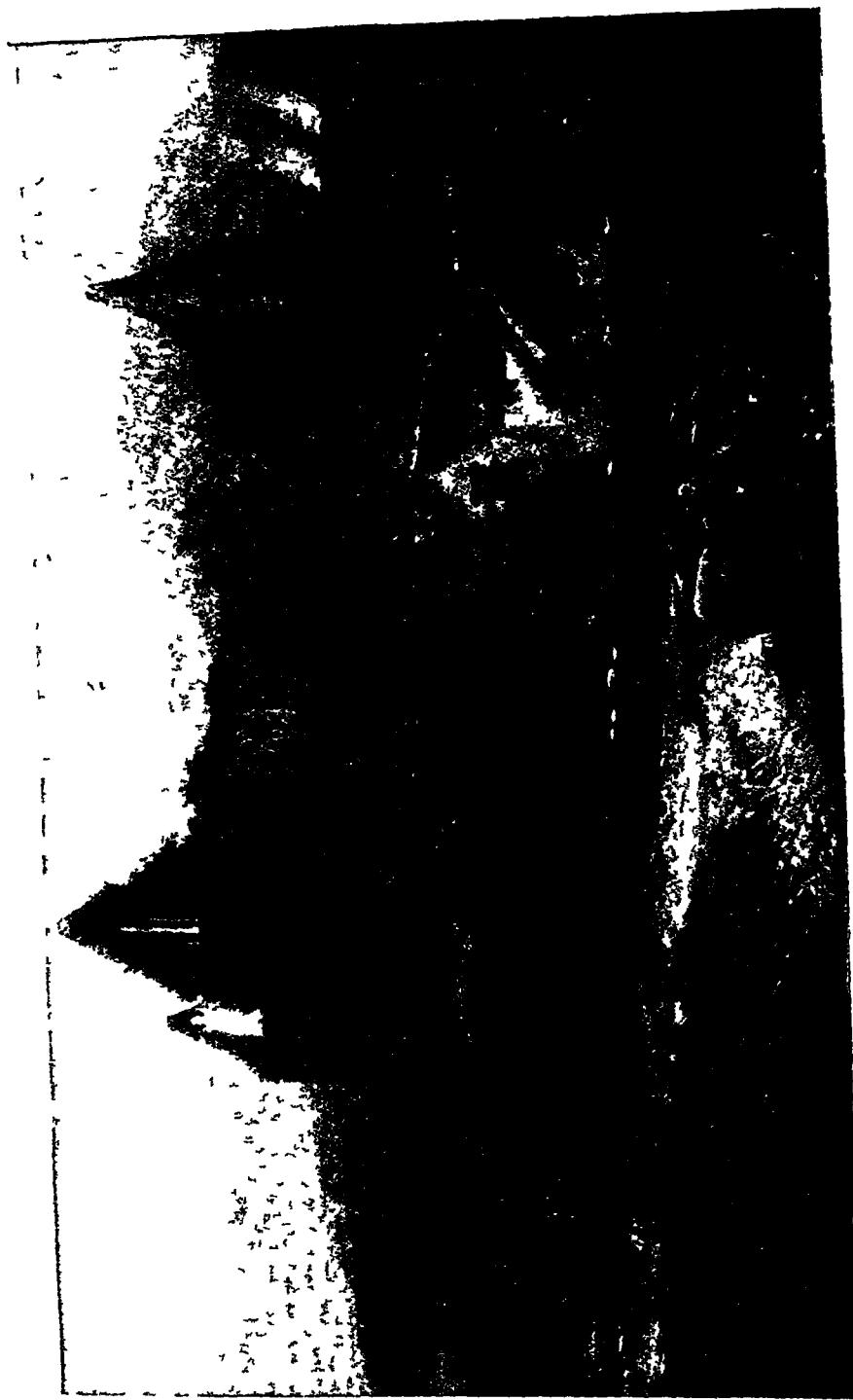
In Edward's time the claims of the Papacy were higher than ever. The Popes had defeated the Emperors, and claimed to be supreme above all other powers on earth. But in Western Europe, especially in France and England, a new spirit was growing up—the spirit of nationality—which resented papal dictation as that of a foreign prince. This new feeling supported Edward in his conflict with the Pope. When Pope Boniface the Eighth forbade the English Church to pay taxes, Edward outlawed the clergy, and forced them to submit (1296).

He also settled the difficult question of church jurisdiction. The quarrel between Henry the Second and Archbishop Thomas had ended, as we have seen, in a victory for the clergy. But it was still uncertain over what kinds of cases the church courts had jurisdiction. Edward laid down clear limits for them. Henceforward they were confined to moral offences, and to business concerning marriages and wills.

Another great difficulty with which Edward dealt was that of the land. He passed a famous statute, the Mortmain Act, by which people were forbidden to give lands to the church, because thereby the state and the feudal lords lost their rights. By other great statutes he settled the relations between landlords and their tenants, and made it easier to let or to sell land.

Edward cut down the rights of the great feudal lords in regard to the jurisdiction of their local courts. Since the Norman Conquest, almost all the local jurisdiction had been in their hands. Henry the Second forced the barons to admit his judges to their courts, but Edward put an end to the old system by issuing writs of "Quo Warranto"—that is, orders for inquiring "by what warrant" the lords held their courts. The result was that the private jurisdictions were so cut down as to become worthless to their owners, and soon afterwards they almost entirely disappeared.

Tintern Abbey B, B W Leader, A.R.A. [A typical Cistercian monastery, 11th-11th century.]



Like Henry the Second again, Edward paid close attention to the army. He obliged all who possessed more than £20 a year in land to serve as mounted knights, and he required every freeman to serve with arms proportioned to his means. He also organized the local police.

But more important than all these reforms was the final establishment of a representative Parliament, containing members chosen by the commons. On two or three occasions, before the time of Simon de Montfort, knights chosen in the county courts had been summoned to the central assembly for a special purpose. Simon de Montfort had also for the first time summoned representatives of the towns and boroughs.

Edward was at one time much under Simon's influence, and when he came to the throne he put his uncle's idea into practice. During the early part of his reign various experiments in this direction were tried. At length, in 1295, Edward, acting on the principle that "what concerns all should be handled by all," summoned the first thoroughly representative Parliament.

It was attended by the bishops and barons, by "proctors" for the lower clergy, by two knights from every shire, and two citizens or burgesses from every considerable city or borough. The lower clergy soon ceased to attend, but in other respects the assembly of 1295 was a model for all the Parliaments that followed. From this time forward Parliament was a necessary part of the constitution.



31. The Conquest of Wales.

THE event of Edward the First's reign in which he had the most complete success was the conquest of Wales. It was not only a military conquest, but a thorough annexation. It was therefore very different from the conquest of Ireland in the reign of Henry the Second.

The conquest of Wales was made much easier by the dis-

union of the Welsh. There was always a distinction, depending on old tribal differences, between North and South Wales, but, besides this, there were separate districts which were generally independent of one another. Thus Wales could be conquered piecemeal.

The first important step towards the real conquest of Wales was made by Harold, Earl of Wessex, during the latter part of Edward the Confessor's reign. He pushed across the Wye and the Usk, and subdued all the south coast. As there were already important Danish settlements in that part of the country, the work of colonization was made easier, and Englishmen began to settle all along the coast. In the reign of Henry the First, the Welsh Church became part of the province of Canterbury.

Meanwhile the Norman lords who held lands along the Welsh border carried forward the work of conquest on their own account, piercing to the heart of the country by the valleys of the Severn and the Wye. Thus, by the time of Henry the Second, when Strongbow set out from Pembroke for the conquest of Ireland, South Wales had practically come into the power of the English kings.

Little advance, however, had yet been made towards the conquest of the more mountainous north, the inhabitants of which remained independent under their native chiefs, the Princes of Wales. These princes acknowledged the sovereignty of the English kings, but they took every opportunity of showing that their submission was merely formal. They kept up a constant border war with the Lords-Marchers, as the barons on the English side of the march were called; they made raids on English land, whenever there was a rebellion they joined the rebels.

Thus they had helped the barons in 1215, and had fought for Simon de Montfort in his revolt against Henry the Third. It was no wonder therefore that Edward the First, when he came to the throne, was anxious to put an end to such a condition of things. But when he required Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, to do homage to him after his accession, that prince refused.

In 1275 Eleanor, daughter of Simon de Montfort, who was betrothed to Llewellyn, fell into Edward's hands while on her way to Wales. Edward declared his willingness to give her up if Llewellyn would do homage, but he still refused. Accordingly, in 1277, Edward invaded Wales.

His plan of attack was carefully formed. One army marched along the northern coast from Chester, another penetrated the Snowdon district—the centre of Llewellyn's power—from the valley of the Sevin, while a fleet patrolled the coast and the Menai Strait. Thus hemmed in on all sides, Llewellyn gave way, and did homage to Edward as his suzerain, upon which the king gave him back his bride.

Edward was satisfied with this arrangement, but Llewellyn could not bear to submit. His brother David, whom he had expelled from Wales, had taken refuge with Edward, and had been restored to his estates at the king's demand in 1277. Now he deserted his former protector, made common cause with his brother the prince, and persuaded him to rebel (1282).

This double treachery was more than Edward could forgive. After some negotiation, in which the Welsh declined to submit on any terms, he again marched into Wales, following much the same plan as before. Llewellyn was soon defeated and slain in battle on the Wye. David continued to resist, but was taken prisoner. A Parliament was summoned at Shrewsbury to try him. He was found guilty of treason and executed.

The time was evidently come for putting an end to a state of things which caused endless trouble to England without any corresponding profit to Wales. In 1284 Parliament passed a statute by which Wales was annexed to the crown of England. In the same year, the king's son Edward was born in Criccieth Castle, on the shore of Menai Strait.

The memory of the independence of Wales was preserved in the title of the king's eldest son, but this was a mere titular dignity. Wales was divided into shires governed by sheriffs after the English fashion. English law was introduced and sternly enforced, but it was long before the country thoroughly settled down.

32. Scotland before the War of Independence.

THE twelfth and thirteenth centuries, from the accession of Edgar in 1097 to the death of Alexander the Third in 1286, were, on the whole, a period of great prosperity for Scotland. Relations with England were generally peaceful. The Scottish kings still did homage to the English kings, but it was difficult to say exactly what the homage covered. Was it homage for all Scotland or for parts of Scotland that had once belonged to England, or for estates in England held by the Scottish kings?

Naturally, the Scots were inclined to interpret the homage in its most limited sense, and as a mere form. They were keenly alive to the importance of maintaining their independence. Though so largely English in origin, they had already acquired a strong sense of separate nationality.

During the reign of William the Lion the towns began to be prosperous. Trade flourished, and the citizens gradually acquired the right of self-government and other privileges, such as were granted about the same time in England. William and his successors, Alexander the Second and Alexander the Third, encouraged the towns by granting them charters, which constituted them "royal burghs." They even allowed the towns to form leagues among themselves.

The Anglo-Norman system of government was gradually introduced. The country was divided into districts, under the control of sheriffs, these afterwards became shires. There was a National Council called the "Estates," which at this time resembled that of England. Feudalism was established, and the great lords were beginning to acquire power, though as yet they were not strong enough to give much trouble. English law and English methods of administering justice took the place of Celtic custom, at least throughout the Lowlands.

The Highlands were still, for the most part in a lawless condition, and outbreaks frequently took place. Nevertheless,

even there the power of the crown was gradually extended. Argyll and the Western Isles were subdued about the beginning of the thirteenth century. A last invasion of the Northmen, under Hakon, who claimed the Hebrides, was repulsed at the battle of Largs, in Ayrshire (1263).

Thus, towards the close of the thirteenth century, Scotland was in a flourishing condition, and far stronger than it had been two hundred years before. But trouble was at hand. Alexander the Third died in 1286. His daughter, Margaret, married to Eric of Norway, had died three years before. She left an infant daughter, also called Margaret, who was known as the Maid of Norway, and who was the direct heiress to the throne.

After Alexander's death, the country was governed by regents for four years. Then, as other claimants to the throne were coming forward, the Estates proposed to Edward the First that the Maid should be married to his eldest son, and Edward agreed to the proposal.

The marriage would have united the two countries in a natural manner. The treaty made it clear that this union was not to injure in any way the independence of Scotland. Nothing happier for both countries could have been arranged. But unfortunately the Maid died (1290) on her way to Scotland, and the whole question of the succession was opened up again.

The direct line having failed, the heiress had to be sought for among the descendants of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion. There were many claimants, but the most important were John Baliol, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings—all three, as their names show, being barons of Norman descent.

They submitted their claims to Edward the First, who agreed to arbitrate, on condition that they acknowledged his "direct sovereignty" over Scotland. Being anxious not to forfeit his goodwill, they all consented to this demand. Thereupon Edward held a great council at Norham (June 1291), examined the case very thoroughly, and eventually (Nov. 1292) gave judgment for Baliol, who succeeded to the throne as King John. The clergy and the nobility, being in dread of civil war, also owned the sovereignty of the English king.

33. William Wallace and Robert Bruce.

So far Edward had not dealt unfairly by Scotland. It may be said that it was by a piece of sharp practice that he got the claimants to recognize his "direct sovereignty." But, after all, they were not forced to accept his arbitration, still less were the Estates compelled to accept it.

What Edward meant by "direct sovereignty" was soon perceived. When certain subjects of King John, who thought themselves aggrieved by decisions of the Scottish courts, appealed to the English king, Edward summoned John to appear before the English Parliament (1293).

Though this was a plain violation of Scottish independence, John in the first instance complied with Edward's demand, and went to Westminster, but afterwards, being irritated by repeated summonses, and emboldened by an alliance with France, he defied Edward, and withdrew his allegiance (1296).

War having thus broken out, Edward invaded Scotland, and took Berwick, then a very important place. The Scottish army met him at Dunbar, and was defeated. Edinburgh, Stirling, and Perth soon fell into his hands. John was deposed, and was sent over to France, where he died in 1314.

Edward now set about treating Scotland as he had treated Wales. He appointed the great officers who were to govern the country, and took all the strongholds into his own hands. The "Stone of Destiny," on which the Scottish kings had been crowned for generations, was carried off from Scone Abbey to Westminster, and still forms part of the Royal Coronation Chair.

The nobility sat still, but the people soon rose in rebellion under William Wallace of Ellerslie (1297). It was in the old kingdom of Strathclyde that the outbreak first took place, but it soon spread all over the Lowlands. After several small successes, Wallace defeated the main English army, under the Earl of Warenne, in the battle of Stirling (1297).

This victory destroyed all the fruits of Edward's conquest.

Wallace not only recovered all Scotland, but also invaded England and cruelly ravaged the northern shires. Edward himself, forced again to take the field, marched north, and defeated Wallace in a great battle at Falkirk (1298).

Nevertheless the Scots continued the struggle. They held out with heroic determination till 1303, when Edward, in a third great invasion, stamped out the embers of resistance. The capture and execution of Wallace, in 1305, brought what may be called the second conquest of Scotland to a close.

This time Edward sought to conciliate the Scots by making his plan for the government of Scotland more popular than before. His viceroy was to be aided by a council consisting of Scottish nobles and clergy. The country at large was to be represented by ten deputies in the English Parliament.

But nothing could make up to the Scots for the loss of their national liberty. Within a year of Wallace's death a third revolt began. The leader of it was Robert Bruce, grandson of the Bruce who had been a claimant for the crown in 1291.

Bruce had at first joined Wallace, but had left him again before the battle of Stirling. Along with other nobles, he submitted to Edward, by whom he was afterwards treated with great favour. He had, however, incurred Edward's displeasure by protesting against the execution of Wallace, and he saved himself from imprisonment by flight.

Arrived in Scotland, he resolved to revive the national resistance. With this object he entered into a bond with some other leading men. It was apparently in connection with this bond that he quarrelled with John Comyn, and slew him in a church at Dumfries. Comyn was a third cousin of Bruce, and had a better title to the throne. By his death, Bruce became next heir after John Balliol and his family.

The deed, though apparently unpremeditated, was regarded as both murder and sacrilege. Bruce had to take up arms to save his life. In order to give himself more hold upon the people, he now boldly claimed the throne. In March 1306 he was crowned at Scone.

At first his rebellion seemed to be a failure, like the rest

But he had great advantages over Wallace. In the first place, he was King of Scotland, not (like Bahol) by the grace of Edward, but in his despite. This brought the people to his side. Secondly, he was supported by many of the nobility, who had held aloof from Wallace as a low-born man. Thirdly, he was superior to Wallace in character and intelligence. He had been much in England, he was resolute, cautious, and a born commander, and as full of resources as of courage.

Still, he could hardly have been successful had Edward lived. In July 1307 the old king died, when on his way to invade Scotland for the fourth time. His son and successor, Edward the Second, was made of much weaker stuff, he declined to carry on the war himself, and left it to his subordinates.

Even so, Bruce was over and over again reduced to the verge of despair. But he struggled gallantly on, and won back one strong place after another. At last Stirling Castle alone was left. To save this, Edward himself marched a great army into Scotland. He was utterly defeated by Bruce in the battle of Bannockburn, June 24, 1314. This great battle secured the independence of Scotland, which was eventually recognized by England in the Treaties of Edinburgh and Northampton (1328).

34. Parliament, the Barons, and Edward II.

In spite of his failure in Scotland, Edward the First was, on the whole, very successful during his long reign of thirty-five years. He added Wales to the English dominions, he passed many good laws for the government of his people, and he gave them a national Parliament.

It was chiefly owing to his difficulties that Edward called the great Parliament of 1295. But the difficulties continued, and drove Edward almost to his wits' end. He had a rising in Wales, a rebellion in Scotland, and a war with France on his hands at the same time.

In great want of money, he took to acting arbitrarily. He levied heavy taxes on the clergy, and outlawed them when they refused to pay. He seized the wool belonging to the wool merchants, and sold it to pay his debts. These measures caused great dissatisfaction. While he was in Flanders, the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, with other nobles, came to London, and forced his son, Prince Edward, to sign a document intended to stop these exactions for the future.

King Edward was not in a position to resist these demands, so he approved at Ghent what his son had granted in his name at Westminster. Not only were the Charters confirmed, but certain additional articles were adopted, in which it was laid down that the king should raise no new taxes except "by the common consent of the realm"—that is, by vote of Parliament.

This concession did not by any means give Parliament complete control of taxation, nor was it intended to do so. The old taxes, such as the regular customs duties levied at the ports, remained in the king's power. But henceforward the nation knew the limit of what it could be required to give without a special vote in Parliament.

In the next reign, however, other questions came to the front. The reign of Edward the Second resembled in many respects that of Henry the Third. It was a period of misgovernment, which led to a new rising of the baronage, resembling the Barons' War of 1263–1265.

Like his grandfather, Edward the Second was much under the influence of favourites. The first of these was Piers (Peter) Gaveston, a native of Gascony. With Piers as a companion, Edward gave himself up to amusement, and neglected the business of the state. Not content with misleading the king, Gaveston insulted several of the nobility. This conduct was strongly resented by the barons, and especially by the head of the order, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, first cousin of the king.

The nobles in council, led by Lancaster, compelled Edward to dismiss his favourite (1308). But Edward only sent Gaveston for a year to govern Ireland, after which he recalled him to court (1309), and things soon went on as badly as before.



The Trial of Wallace By Daniel Wallace, R.A., in the Guildhall Art Gallery (By permission of the Corporation of London)

Early in 1310 the king was forced to consent to the appointment of a commission, consisting of twenty-one persons, with Earl Thomas at their head, who were to draw up a plan of reform

These commissioners, who were called "Lords Ordainers," practically took over the government of the country. Next year (1311) they produced their scheme, called the "Ordinances." The king's favourites, including Gaveston, were to be banished, various taxes were to be abolished, Parliament was to meet once a year, and the great officers of state were to be appointed only with consent of the barons.

These were good measures, in as far as they diminished the power of the crown, but they erred in transferring much of the royal power, not to Parliament, but to the great barons. Parliament confirmed the Ordinances, and Gaveston was again banished, in spite of the remonstrance of the king. A year later he was back in England. It was evident that the king could not be trusted, and this time the barons made sure by seizing Gaveston and beheading him at Warwick (1312).

It was partly owing to these troubles that the war with Scotland was neglected, and that Bruce was able to make head. The disaster of Bannockburn destroyed what little authority Edward had left. Thomas of Lancaster now took the lead of the government, and appointed his own friends to the chief offices in the state.

But Lancaster's government was no better than the king's, and Edward began to recover his authority. Unfortunately, he again put his trust in favourites. This time it was two men named Despenser, father and son, who gained influence over the king. Between them and the party of Lancaster a deadly feud broke out.

The country fell into a miserable state. The Scots recovered Berwick, and several times ravaged the northern counties, while terrible famines increased the national discontent. In 1321, the Despensers were banished by Parliament, but they came back next year, and the king, making a great effort, overthrew Lancaster at Boroughbridge. He was tried for treason, and executed at Pontefract (1322).

Thereupon the Ordinances were revoked, and it was laid down that thenceforward no legislation should take place except by consent of the three estates, "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons, in Parliament assembled" Thus the victory was to the Parliament as much as to the king

But in spite of all that had happened, Edward ruled no better than before The party of Lancaster revived under Roger Mortimer, a great baron in the west. The queen, disgusted by Edward's misconduct, joined Mortimer in France Thence they invaded England, and the king fell into their hands He was taken to Berkeley Castle, where he was cruelly put to death (1327)

35. The Great War with France: its Causes.

NO one came with any credit out of the revolution of 1327. Mortimer and the barons made use of their power to push their own interests, caring nothing for the people, while the queen linked herself with the murderer of her husband.

The new government, after a futile campaign against the Scots, was forced to make peace and to recognize the independence of Scotland Consequently the queen and Mortimer soon fell into discredit, and the nation at large was much relieved when the young king, Edward the Third, overthrew them, put Mortimer to death, and took the power into his own hands (1330)

The long reign of Edward the Third is chiefly remarkable for the great war with France—the first part of what is sometimes called, not very correctly, the Hundred Years' War This struggle falls into two main divisions In the earlier part, under Edward the Third (1338–1377), the English were at first successful, but afterwards lost almost all they had won In the later, under Henry the Fifth and Henry the Sixth (1415–1453), the war followed a very similar course At the end of it the English were driven out of France



The Black Prince being made a Knight of the Garter By C W
Cope, R.A. in Westminster Palace

To understand the causes of this war, we must go back to the previous century. After John had lost most of the possessions of Henry the Second in France, the English still kept Gascony. The French kings naturally wished to recover this great province, one of the richest and most valuable parts of France.

This had already led to a war with France in 1294, which lasted in a fitful way for several years. In 1299 Philip the Fourth gave up his claims on Gascony, but even after that the French kept nibbling at the frontier, and when Edward the Third came to the throne, they had seized a number of towns, which they refused to give up. This then was the original and the chief cause of the war.

The second cause was the alliance between France and Scotland, a connection which, begun in 1295, lasted for close upon three hundred years. When David Bruce, at the age of five, succeeded his father, the great King Robert, Edward Bahol made a bold dash for the crown. With a promise of homage, he obtained the help of Edward the Third, who defeated the Scots at Halidon Hill, and set Bahol on the throne (1333). David Bruce having been sent to France for safety, the Scots obtained French aid on his behalf. His party gradually got the upper hand. At length, in 1339, Bahol had to leave Scotland, and two years later David returned and became king.

This increased the enmity between England and France, and when Edward saw that war was inevitable, he put forward his claim to the French throne (1337). This claim was based on his descent from Philip the Fourth of France, whose daughter, Isabella, was Edward's mother. Philip the Fourth left three sons, and when the third of these died childless, a discussion arose as to who should succeed him. If Edward the Third had not been King of England, he would undoubtedly have been chosen. But the French would not have an English king to reign over them. Their lawyers therefore declared that, in accordance with an old law of the Salian Franks, called the Salic Law, a woman could neither inherit the crown nor transmit her claim to her sons.

Accordingly, Philip of Valois, a cousin of the late king,

became King of France as Philip the Sixth (1328). Edward the Third was not anxious just then to pick a quarrel with France, so he resigned his claim to the French crown. He even did homage to Philip the Sixth for his duchy of Gascony, thus recognizing his rival as the rightful king. But now, in 1337, he revived his claim, partly to have a legal pretext for the war, partly to secure as allies the Flemings, or the people of Flanders, who, being great weavers of cloth, were good customers of the English wool merchants. The French kings had been trying to annex Flanders, and the English alliance strengthened the position of the Flemings.

Finally, there was the rivalry between England and France for the command of the Channel. The seaports on each side were very jealous of one another. They constantly tried to do each other hurt, and often came to blows. But the independence of Flanders and the command of the Channel were only minor causes of the war. The chief reasons for it were Edward's desire to keep hold of Gascony, and his wish to prevent the French from sending aid to the Scots.

36. The Great War with France under Edward III.

WHEN the war with France began, in the year 1338, it could not have been foretold that England would win great victories, and force France to make a humiliating peace. In previous wars, France had generally had the best of the struggle. And France was now much stronger than she had been when Philip Augustus took Normandy from John.

In the matter of allies, neither side had much advantage. On the side of France were Scotland and the Kings of Navarre and Bohemia, on the side of England were the Flemish towns, some princes of the Netherlands, and the emperor. But the two chief combatants really fought out the war alone.

Three advantages eventually gave England the upper hand. In the first place, she had the better fleet, so that she soon won the command of the sea. Thus she could attack France whenever and wherever she pleased, and the French could not retaliate.

In the second place, the English were better armed for the French had nothing to equal the English long-bow. This terrible weapon had been introduced into England by the Normans, but after the battle of Hastings it seems to have been little used in war till the reign of Edward the First. It was the long-bow that won both the battle of Falkirk (1298) and the battle of Halidon Hill (1333).

Thirdly, the English were better led. Time after time the French lost battles by attacking the English when the English had the best of the position. It was only after many bitter experiences that they learned to avoid pitched battles and to wear the English out.

The French began by taking possession of Gascony, and by sending ships to ravage the English coasts. Edward retaliated by invading Flanders (1338); but he could not bring the French to an engagement, and having been deserted by his allies he returned to England (1340).

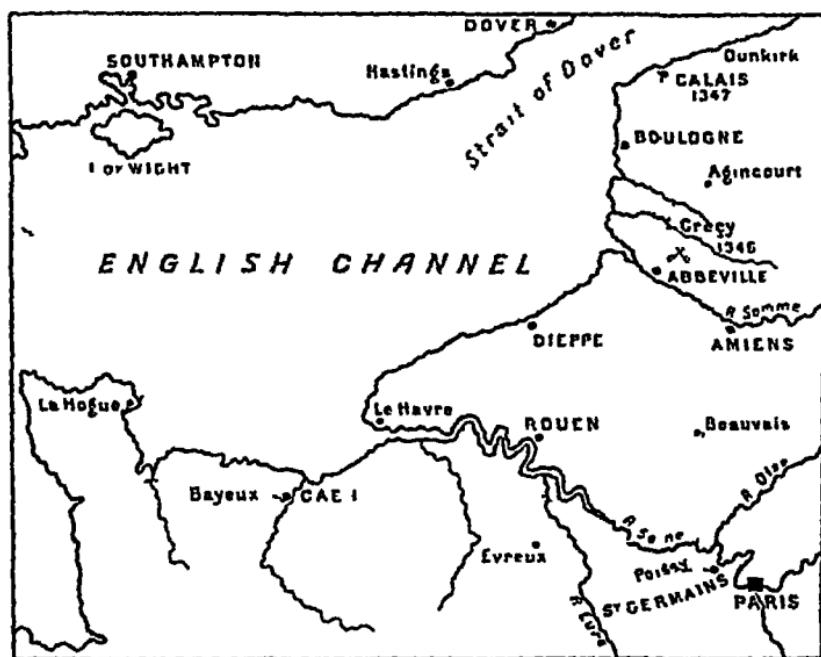
There he collected another army, and again crossed the sea. This time the French had gathered a large fleet, partly consisting of Genoese ships, to prevent Edward from landing. Off Sluys, a Flemish port, a great naval battle was fought, which ended in the destruction of the French fleet (June 1340). From this time forward the English held the sea.

In spite of this victory, the land campaign was no more successful than before. Edward besieged Tournay, but failed to take it, and at last agreed to a truce. It was at the siege of Tournay that cannons are said to have been first used.

After this, nothing important was done for several years, but as the great questions at issue were not yet settled Edward renewed the war in 1346. This time he changed his plan, and instead of invading Flanders, he landed at La Hogue, in Normandy. His object was to distract the attention of the French, who were pressing hard on Gascony in the south.

Edward marched eastward through Normandy, taking towns on the way, and advanced on Paris. But he could not force the French to fight, and he was obliged to retreat towards the coast. He then marched northward, hoping to join a Flemish army beyond the Somme. He crossed that river, and halted on some rising ground near Crèy. Here he was attacked by the French on August 26, 1346.

The Genoese cross-bowmen, who formed the van of the French army, were no match for the English archers, and were



soon discomfited. Then the French knights charged up the hill, but horse and man went down before the deadly flights of arrows. A dangerous flank attack was met by the king's eldest son, Edward, the Black Prince, and was repulsed after a hard struggle. In the rout that followed vast numbers of the French were slain.

So heavy was the blow that Edward was able unmolested to lay siege to Calais. During the siege, a Scottish army invaded England, but was badly beaten at Neville's Cross (October 1346), and the Scottish king David, was taken. In

1347 Calais surrendered to the English, who continued to hold it for upwards of two hundred years

After this the war languished for a while, and was further deferred by the terrible plague which ravaged all western Europe in the years 1349-1350. Short truces were made from time to time, and the Pope tried to make a solid peace, but in vain.

At length, in 1355, the war was actively renewed. The Black Prince attacked France from Gascony, while his father made an inroad from the north. Next year the Black Prince again marched out from Bordeaux towards the Loire. The French with a large army tried to cut off his retreat, but were defeated with great loss near Poitiers (Sept. 19, 1356).

The battle of Poitiers, like that of Crecy, was won by the English archers. The French king, John, was taken. Even without their king, the French struggled on for four years, but at length they were forced to give way. The Peace of Bretigny (1360) secured to the English king possession of Gascony, with Poitou and Calais, in full sovereignty. In return for this, Edward gave up his claim to the French crown.

Strange to say, these great conquests were lost within a few years. The Black Prince ruled Gascony, but soon showed that, though a great soldier, he was a bad statesman. He wasted his forces in fruitless interference in Spain, and by his tyranny he drove the Gascons to revolt. They appealed to the French king, Charles the Fifth, who took up their cause, and invaded Gascony (1370).

The French, avoiding a pitched battle, captured town after town, and recovered the country bit by bit. Professional soldiers took the place of the brave but unskilful feudal lords. The Black Prince seemed prematurely worn out, and the old king could no longer help him. England itself grew tired of the long and fruitless war. Thus the English cause steadily declined, till, in 1377, when Edward the Third died, nothing was left of all his conquests but Calais, Bayonne, and Bordeaux.

37. Government and Society under Edward III.

So great a war as that which we have just been studying could not but leave its marks upon both of the countries engaged in it. France suffered frightfully, but at the end of the war she was hardly more exhausted than England. At the same time English manners became coarse, and a period of violence set in which came to a head in the Wars of the Roses in the next century.

The great nobles spent much money on the wars, but they gained power thereby. They raised at their own expense a part of the forces which so often invaded France, and thus they attached large bodies of men to themselves. They also adopted the practice of keeping up bodies of "retainers," through which they afterwards became so dangerous to the crown.

On the other hand, the king's constant need of money led to very important results in Parliament. We have seen how Edward the First's necessities obliged him to make concessions in 1297. Edward the Third's necessities obliged him to make many more.

During the reign of Edward the Third, the demands for taxes were so frequent that Parliament came to be regularly held at least once a year. Naturally Parliament began to make bargains with the king, and these bargains were usually to the advantage of the commons.

It was about this time that the commons acquired an independent position. In the reign of Edward the First, the peers had come to be a separate body of great nobles, distinguished from other people by the right to receive a personal summons to Parliament. But in Edward the Second's reign a share in legislation was secured for the commons, and early in the reign of Edward the Third they began to sit in a chamber of their own (1332-33).

In their own chamber the Commons received petitions

from different persons or bodies in the country. These they sometimes put together in the form of "bills," which were presented to the king. If he granted them, with the assent of the Lords, the bills became statutes of the realm. More and more legislation thus took place at the request of the Commons.

They also began to influence the choice of the king's councillors and ministers. During the latter part of the century they several times "impeached" or accused ministers whom they disliked, and obliged the king to dismiss or to punish them.

Finally, as those who elected the Commons paid the bulk of the taxes, that House gradually acquired the sole right of granting them. By the end of the fourteenth century it had come to be recognized that, in regard to taxation, the consent of the Lords was little more than a form.

Meanwhile, outside of Parliament, the middle classes gained greatly in power through the control of local jurisdiction. They supplied the bulk of the "Justices of the Peace." About 1360 these officers were allowed to act as judges, and then "Quarter Sessions" took the place of the old popular courts, and of the private courts of the great lords.

While the power of the gentry and the richer merchants and townspeople was thus increasing, the condition of the lower classes also tended to improve, at least during the early part of the century. "Villenage," or servitude, gradually disappeared. The landlords found it convenient to turn their rights over the villeins into money payments, or rents. This gave the villein a much better position, for so long as he paid his dues he could not be turned out of his holding.

This change was taking place when the great plague, often called the Black Death, appeared in England. It was an awful scourge, destroying, some think, a full half of the population. So many of the labourers were swept away that there ensued a great scarcity of labour, and wages went up.

Parliament passed statutes to compel men to work for what was thought a fair wage (1351, 1362). This gave rise to great discontent. Many labourers left their holdings and

wandered about the country, others went to swell the population of the towns, where trade was good and wages were high.

Meanwhile, the condition of the church was becoming unsatisfactory. Throughout the thirteenth century, the heads of the church, such as Langton and Grosseteste, had been the leaders of constitutional progress. In the fourteenth century they gave up this position, and became, in many cases, proud, indolent, and corrupt. The monks, too, grew rich and lazy, and the Franciscans, who at one time had done so much for education, now rather retarded it.

The wretched condition of the lower classes, the selfishness of the higher, and the spiritual decay of the church, form the main subject of a notable poem, the "Vision of Piers Ploughman," written by William Langland towards the end of the century.

A brighter picture is presented by the poet Geoffrey Chaucer. In his greatest work, "The Canterbury Tales," a succession of figures passes before the reader—the knight, the priest, the miller, the franklin or yeoman—each of whom tells his tale, and thereby reveals his own character. Chaucer is the first great English poet, and it is on the whole a happy and vigorous, if somewhat coarse and sensual, England of which he sings.

John Gower, a contemporary of Chaucer, also wrote a number of tales in verse, but he is very inferior to Chaucer, and is more a moralist than a poet.



38. *Wyclif, the Lollards, and Richard II.*

THE decay of church discipline and the degradation of the Papacy roused the indignation of John Wyclif, the first of the great ecclesiastical reformers. John Wyclif was a north country man, who, when we first hear of him, was holding a high position in the University of Oxford. As Master of

Edward III at the Siege of Calais

By Sir John (illust. 1) (by permission of the Corporation of London)

Edward III at the Siege of Calais



134 Wiclif, the Lollards, and Richard II

Balliol College, about 1360, he became known for his strong views about the church

He upbraided the Franciscans for their narrowness regarding education, and the clergy for neglect of their duty in general. In 1374 he was sent to Flanders, as member of a commission for settling the rights of the Pope over the English Church. This experience seems to have shown him that the root of the mischief was in the Papacy.

He now attacked the head of the church so vigorously that, in 1377, he was called before the bishops to defend his teaching. But he had already won the support of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, one of the sons of Edward the Third, and now the chief man in the kingdom. This saved him from further trouble at that time, but subsequently his teaching about the sacraments gave the bishops an excuse for charging him with heresy.

So long as he merely attacked the Pope for his extortions, and the clergy for their worldliness, Wiclif had powerful supporters, but when, besides finding fault with the doctrines of the church, he began to teach new views about authority and government, John of Gaunt and other great men began to regard him as a dangerous person.

Wiclif then appealed to the people at large. He founded an order of "poor priests," who were instructed, like the first apostles, to go about and teach the gospel, begging their way from door to door. But his greatest work was the translation of the Bible, which for the first time opened to Englishmen in general the fountain-head of their religion. In his last years Wiclif was left unmolested at his living of Lutterworth, where he died in 1384.

His followers, who became very numerous, got the name of Lollards, which is said to mean "babblers," or "idlers." They were found chiefly among the lower classes, who had much to complain of at that time. Towards the end of Edward the Third's reign the government was much neglected. The taxes were heavy, and there were much waste and dishonesty.

The Black Prince had died before his father, so on Edward the Third's death (1377) his grandson succeeded him as Richard the Second. The king being a minor, the government was placed in the hands of a council of regency. But this government did nothing to improve the condition of the poor, whose discontent blazed up at last in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

It seems impossible to say how much the teaching of Wyclif had to do with this revolt, but some connection between them there was. Many of the leaders had adopted his doctrines, and had given them a political turn. The dislike which was generally felt towards men of wealth and station was expressed in the couplet,—

“ When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ? ”

A heavy poll-tax, levied on poor as well as on rich, was the immediate occasion of the revolt, which was especially violent in the east and the south-east of England.

The Kentish rebels marched on London, and penetrated into the city. The young king boldly met them, and listened to their grievances. During the parley, their leader, Wat Tyler, was slain by the Lord Mayor, but Richard, who showed great presence of mind, managed to stave off an attack. While the rebels were hesitating, the king's forces came up, and the danger was over.

After this the insurrection was easily suppressed. The leaders were executed, and the peasants seemed no better off than before. Parliament refused to abolish villeinage. Nevertheless, from this time forward it may be said that serfdom practically ceased to exist in England.

During Richard's minority there were great dissensions in the government. John of Gaunt, the king's uncle, at first took the lead, but becoming unpopular, he left England in 1385. His place was taken by another uncle of the king, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester. Between this man and the king's ministers there arose a deadly feud, which ended in a victory for Gloucester, who banished or executed his opponents.

But in 1389 Richard came of age, and Gloucester had to

136 The Lancastrian System and Henry IV

retine. For eight years Richard ruled peaceably and well, but in 1397 he suddenly seized Gloucester and his principal adherents and put them in prison. Soon afterwards Gloucester died—by Richard's orders, it was supposed. Henry, eldest son of John of Gaunt, was banished, and when his father died, Richard refused to give him his estates.

Richard now began to rule very tyrannically. He did just what he pleased, and he got Parliament to give him a revenue which made him independent of them. This conduct united all classes of the nation against him.

In 1399 Henry, now Duke of Lancaster, returned to England to claim his own. Despised by all, Richard had to surrender at discretion. Parliament thereupon resolved to depose him, and chose his cousin Henry in his place. Thus Lancaster succeeded to the throne as Henry the Fourth. Richard was imprisoned, and soon afterwards died.

39. The Lancastrian System and Henry IV.

THE Lancastrian revolution, as the violent accession of Henry the Fourth may be called, was a very remarkable event. Richard the Second was deposed, not because he governed too little (like Edward the Second), but because he governed too much. He tried to make himself absolute by striking down the great men and corrupting Parliament. Henry the Fourth opposed him as a supporter of parliamentary government—as a constitutional king.

Personally, Henry had a bad title to the throne. His father, John of Gaunt, was only the fourth son of Edward the Third. The rightful heir, at Richard's death, was Edmund, Earl of March, grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward the Third. Thus Henry was a usurper, with no real claim but his election by Parliament.

Their dependent and insecure position gave a peculiar character to the government of the Lancastrian kings. Obliged to rely on Parliament for support, they made many concessions to Parliament, especially to the House of Commons.

The House of Lords at this time consisted of about forty temporal and about fifty spiritual peers (bishops and abbots). The Commons numbered, as a rule, about three hundred members. The knights of the shires were elected in the county court. By a statute of 1430, the franchise was limited to free-holders having land worth at least £2 a year. The borough members were elected in various ways.

Parliament began to exercise over the Privy Council an influence somewhat resembling that which it has over the ministers of to-day. On several occasions ministers were removed owing to the remonstrances of Parliament, and others were appointed with parliamentary consent.

All taxes were now voted in Parliament, and the Commons kept the control so strictly in their hands that they did not allow the Lords even to give them advice unasked, much less to alter their grants. They began, too, to inquire into the application of the money, and more than once they made the king show his accounts.

It is at this time also that we first hear of the "privileges of Parliament". Special penalties were enacted against any one who assaulted a member while Parliament was sitting. At the outset of each session, the "Speaker"—that is, the chosen representative of the Commons, and their mouthpiece when addressing the king—demanded recognition of their privileges, which was always granted.

This system is recognized by Sir John Fortescue, a great lawyer and writer under Henry the Sixth, as the only rightful government for the country. He describes it as a government shared "by the king and the citizens"—in other words, it was a limited monarchy. The king was at the head of the state, but he was not above the law.

But these reforms of government must not mislead us into thinking that the country was really happy or prosperous. On

the contrary, it was a troubled time, during which law was often broken or set aside. The king's power was by no means secure, and there were frequent plots and rebellions. In the reign of Richard the Second, the great barons grouped themselves into two factions—one taking the side of the king, the other opposed to him. John of Gaunt had at first led the latter party, then Thomas, Earl of Gloucester, finally Henry of Lancaster himself.

By the revolution of 1399 the position of the two parties was reversed, the party which Richard had tried to suppress obtaining power. Throughout the Lancastrian period these factions continued, sometimes apparently dying down, then again reviving, till at last their bitter hostility burst forth in the Wars of the Roses, and deluged the land with blood.

The most dangerous revolt of Henry the Fourth's reign took place in 1403, when the great lords of the Scottish and Welsh borders, the Percies and the Mortimers, rebelled. They were joined by the powerful Scottish Earl of Douglas, and by the Welsh, who were in revolt under a national leader, Owen Glendower. What made this revolt especially dangerous was that some of the rebels claimed the throne for the young Earl of March. Henry was, however, a match for all his enemies. In the battle of Shrewsbury (1403) the combination was broken up, and Hotspur, the chief of the younger Percies, was slain.

Again, in 1405, the northern lords rebelled, and it was not till 1408 that they were finally put down. But though so far successful, Henry was not popular. Much blood was shed, and the penalties inflicted on the rebels left much sullen wrath behind.

Nor was the king's popularity increased by his support of the church in its persecutions. It was in his reign that the first statute for the burning of heretics was passed (1401). Thus Henry the Fourth was more feared than loved. His son, Prince Henry, who had won the battle of Shrewsbury, had already drawn the eyes and hearts of men to him, and the nation at large was glad when, in 1413, he succeeded to the throne as Henry the Fifth.

40. Scotland: the Bruce and the Stewarts.

WE have seen how Edward the Third attempted to place an English nominee on the Scottish throne, and how near he came to success. His failure deferred the union of England and Scotland for nearly three centuries. Perhaps this was well, for Scotland, if forcibly annexed, would never have ceased to resent a foreign yoke.

France was Scotland's one ally. For more than two hundred and fifty years (from about 1295 to 1560), England and France were generally hostile to each other, and for the same period there was always enmity and often war between England and Scotland.

David Bruce, who succeeded his father Robert the First in 1329, was not indeed so hostile to England as might have been expected. He was kept out of his rights, chiefly through English interference, till 1341, when Edward Balliol gave up the hopeless struggle, and David began to reign in person. It was not till five years later that he invaded England as the ally of France. David was beaten and captured at Neville's Cross (1346).

Edward Balliol then made a last vain attempt to win the Scottish crown. He overran the Lothians and Clydesdale with a band of Galloway freebooters, but his cruelty and feebleness gained for him only hatred and contempt. A few years later he sold his rights to Edward the Third for an annuity. The Border war was continued in a desultory fashion. Edward's eyes were generally fixed on France, and the great plague (1349-1350) contributed to prevent active measures.

In 1356, however, Edward led an army into Scotland, and burned and plundered the country as far as the Forth. So terrible was the harrying that this invasion was ever afterwards remembered as the "burned Candlemas". But the invasion was fruitless, like so many others, and in 1357 Edward made

peace. After eleven years of honourable captivity David was released.

Strange to say, he bore his captors no ill will. On the contrary, he seems to have liked his residence in England, and he often returned to the south. Having no children, and disliking his nephew the Steward, he even proposed that Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Edward's third son, should succeed him. But the Scottish Estates could not tolerate an English king, and the crown passed, in 1370, to David's nephew, Robert the Steward, the founder of the Stewart line, who ascended the throne as Robert the Second.

Robert at first kept the peace with England, but the truce between them expired in 1385. War between England and France was then going on, though in a feeble, half-hearted way, and war was therefore renewed between England and Scotland. An English invasion, as cruel and as useless as that of 1355, took place. The Scots retaliated in the same strain. The French sent a body of auxiliary troops to Scotland, but they did not get on well with the Scots, and soon withdrew.

After this the war died down into a mere succession of border forays. One of the events of this long and futile struggle is lifted out of oblivion by the noble ballad of "Chevy Chase." This poem tells how Douglas took the flag of Hotspur (Henry Percy), and challenged him to win it back, how the English knights, trying to surprise the Scots at Otterburn (1388), were beaten off, and how Hotspur was taken, and how the Douglas died. So chivalrous an episode, so vividly told, casts a sort of glamour over what was really a very dismal time.

It was about the same time that John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, completed his famous poem of "The Bruce." This work, full of the national spirit called forth by the struggle against Edward the First, is for the most part historical, and relates in a very vivid way the life and adventures of Robert the First.

After 1390, when Robert the Second died, there was peace with England for some years. But the nobles, for want

of a foreign enemy, fought with one another, so the country gained little by the peace. Robert the Third—originally named John—who succeeded his father on the throne, was half-witted, and could not keep order. The government was really in the hands of the king's brother, Robert, Duke of Albany, an able ruler but a cruel man.

The war with England was renewed soon after Henry the Fourth came to the English throne. Henry revived the old claim on Scotland, and the Scots retaliated by joining the Percies in their rebellion. In 1405 the young Prince James, the heir to the Scottish throne, fell into the hands of Henry, who kept him as a hostage for the good behaviour of the Scots.

His father, King Robert, died in 1406, but James, though proclaimed king in Scotland, remained a prisoner in England till 1424. During most of that time Albany was regent, and England and Scotland were nominally at peace. But the country, for want of good government, became more and more disorderly, especially after Albany's death in 1419. This state of things was not profitable to the English, then actively engaged in war with France, so in 1424 James was allowed to return, and with this event a new period of Scottish history begins.

41. The Great War with France under Henry V.

AFTER the French had driven the English out of France, except from a few coast towns, they had not much reason for continuing the war. Still, so long as the English held any French land, especially such an important place as Calais, there could not be real peace. So the war continued, off and on, during most of the reign of Richard the Second.

When Henry the Fourth came to the throne, he would gladly have revived the policy of his house and have made war on France. But he was too much occupied with plots and rebel-

lions at home during the greater part of his reign, and when at length he obtained peace, he was too old and sickly to have heart for such an undertaking.

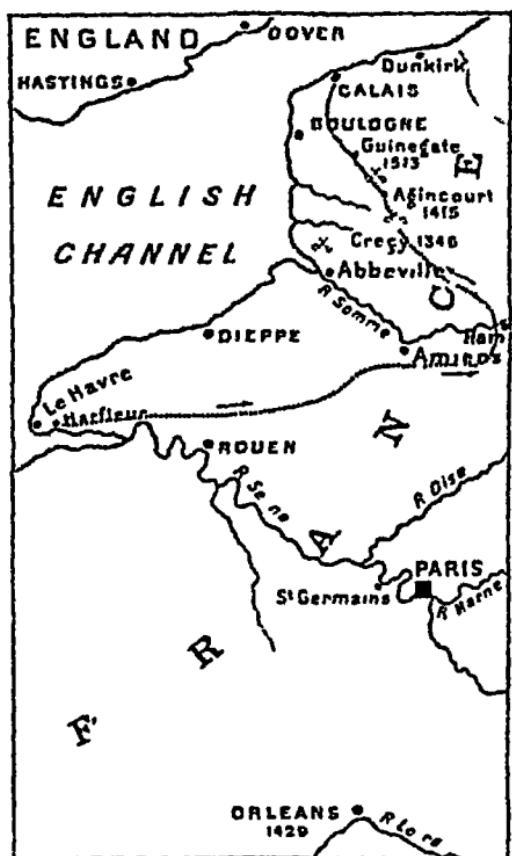
His son, Henry the Fifth, was in a different position. He was young, handsome, and popular, a very perfect knight and an able statesman. When, therefore, he determined to renew the war with France, he was enthusiastically supported

by the nation. The time was opportune, for France was in a sorry plight. The king, Charles the Sixth, was mad. Two great parties, the factions of Burgundy and Orleans or Armagnac, disputed for the mastery, and made it impossible for France to unite against a foreign enemy.

John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, was a cousin of Charles the Sixth, while Louis, Duke of Orleans, was Charles's brother. Burgundy quarrelled with Orleans, and in 1407 caused him to be murdered. This led to a deadly feud between the two houses. As

Charles, the young Duke of Orleans, was only twenty-three years of age, his party was led by his father-in-law, the Count of Armagnac, whose name it therefore bore.

The Duke of Burgundy had extensive lands in Flanders, which had long been connected with England by commerce, and on that account Henry the Fourth had sent him aid in 1411. Therefore, when Henry the Fifth invaded France in





Whittington and the Poor By Henrietta Rae (Mrs Normand), in the Royal Exchange, London (By permission of Messrs Hildebrand and Co) [Time of Henry V]

144 Great War with France under Henry V

1415, he had reason to hope for assistance from Burgundy. At least he reckoned on being able to take advantage of the national divisions in order to conquer the country.

He was hardly justified in his attempt, for the war was purely aggressive on the English side. His demands went far beyond Gascony, for he claimed all the old possessions of the English kings. Such a demand could only be refused outright, and the war began.

Henry landed near Harfleur, at the mouth of the Seine, to which he laid siege. It took him seven weeks to capture the town, and by the end of the siege his army was so much reduced that he resolved to march along the coast to Calais, and there to await reinforcements. On his way he was attacked by a French army, far outnumbering his own, at Agincourt (Oct. 25, 1415). The battle, which closely resembled that of Crècy, ended in total defeat and a terrible slaughter of the French.

Two years later Henry repeated his invasion, and this time deliberately set about the conquest of Normandy. He took town after town, till in 1419 Rouen, the capital of Normandy, fell. The Duke of Burgundy then tried to come to an arrangement with Charles the Dauphin, the eldest son of the King of France, but he was killed by the Dauphin's command.

His son Philip at once joined the English, and the French Government was forced to give way. A treaty was made at Troyes (1420), by which Henry was to marry Catherine, the daughter of Charles the Sixth, to be regent of France during Charles's life, and king at his death. The Dauphin rejected the treaty, and continued the war.

In 1422 Henry the Fifth died. His son, Henry the Sixth, was a baby, and the conduct of the war fell into the hands of the Duke of Bedford, brother of the late king. Bedford, who married a sister of Philip of Burgundy, was an able soldier and a wise man, and for some time he held his own. In 1424 he even won a great victory over the French at Verneuil.

Then fortune began to turn. On the death of Charles the Sixth (1422), the Dauphin had been crowned at Poitiers as Charles the Seventh. All that was patriotic in France naturally rallied to him, while, on the other side, Philip of Burgundy, offended by the behaviour of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in the matter of his wife's lands, began to grow cool towards the English.

In 1429 the first great blow was dealt at the English power. They had laid siege to Orleans, and were on the point of taking it, when Joan of Arc appeared. This famous girl, a peasant from Lorraine, conceived that she had a mission from Heaven to save France, and her courage and religious enthusiasm put new spirit into the French.

The siege of Orleans was raised, and the English were everywhere driven back. Joan was taken, and burned as a witch (1431), but this did no good. In 1435 Bedford died, and Burgundy made his peace with France. This was a fatal blow, for the alliance with Burgundy had been the chief support of the English cause.

In England the government was divided, one party supporting the war, the other anxious for peace. The English armies struggled bravely, but step by step they were driven back, as they had been towards the end of Edward the Third's reign, until at last (1453) nothing was left of all their conquests but Calais. The long and disastrous war was at an end.

42. Origin of the Wars of the Roses.

THE Wars of the Roses were the last and most violent of those efforts which the great nobles of the Middle Ages made to throw off the authority of the crown. After each of the earlier rebellions, the authority of the sovereign was restored, but the baronage remained strong enough to try conclusions with the crown again. The Wars of the Roses ended in the downfall of the mediæval nobility, and never



The Little Princes in the Tower By I and Duhroche [sons of Edward IV, believed to have been murdered by order of Richard III]

since that time have they seriously endangered the cause of order and good government

Another important point is, that the early rebellions seldom started from a desire to alter the succession. Indeed, in those days the hereditary principle had not been established. In the fifteenth century, however, the idea of hereditary right was generally accepted. Thus, when the opponents of the Lancastrian kings maintained that they had no hereditary right to the throne, the plea gave their rebellion a plausible justification. The claim of the Yorkists was certainly better, for Richard, Duke of York, was descended, through his mother, from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward the Third, while Henry the Sixth represented the fourth son, John of Gaunt.

Still, as the Lancastrian kings had held the throne for fifty years, this defect of title would probably not have upset them had there been no other causes of complaint. Unfortunately, there were many of these. In the first place, there was a fatal lack of "good governance." The country was in a very unruly condition, and there was no power strong enough to enforce the law. The power of the great lords on their vast estates was so great that juries did not dare to convict or judges to condemn a prisoner who was under their protection.

The leading barons were rich, and they kept bodies of "retainers,"—that is, small private armies of men, wearing their liveries, and entirely under their control. On the other hand, the king was very poor. He was forced to depend on taxes, grudgingly given by the House of Commons, and the "customs," or duties on exports and imports, yielded very little at that time. The long wars with France had borne evil fruit in the increasing violence of manners and contempt for law. Disbanded soldiers, ready to serve any one who would pay them, roamed about the country. The failure abroad brought the government into discredit, and the unfortunate Henry the Sixth was blamed for losing what his father had won.

The factions which had distracted the country for the last seventy years now fought out their battles in the Privy Council.

The court party was led by William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk. The opposition was headed by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who was very unpopular.

In the interests of peace, Suffolk brought about the king's marriage with the French princess, Marguerite of Anjou. This gave him overpowering influence, for the king was very weak, and the queen, who favoured Suffolk, could do what she liked with her husband. In 1447 Duke Humphrey was suddenly seized and imprisoned. A few days later he died, and no one doubted that he had met with foul play.

But vengeance came upon Suffolk. Two years later he was "impeached" by the Commons for various crimes. Henry sought to save him by banishment, but this did not satisfy his enemies, who seized and beheaded him at sea (1450). The same year a popular rising in Kent, under Jack Cade, caused the dismissal of other obnoxious ministers. But the queen held firm, and popular irritation increased. It was in these circumstances that Richard, Duke of York, appeared in London, and demanded his due place in the government.



43 Warwick the Kingmaker and the Wars of the Roses

RICHARD, Duke of York, did not at once lay claim to the throne. All he asked at first was that he and his friends should be admitted to the government, and that the Duke of Somerset, a nephew of Cardinal Beaufort, who had taken Suffolk's place, should be dismissed (1452).

Nowadays, when a particular policy becomes distasteful to the nation, and a change of ministers is required, the change is accomplished by the majority in Parliament. But in the fifteenth century Parliament had not acquired this power. The only way was to bring pressure to bear on the king, and if that failed, to rebel.

The government of Somerset was as unsuccessful as that of Suffolk had been. The war with France came to a disastrous end (1453). At this moment a son and heir was born to Henry, and York was thus debarred from the direct succession. This event forced him to act promptly, and the occasion was opportune, for about the same time the king went out of his mind.

The court party could no longer refuse York's claim to office, and he was accordingly made "Protector"—that is, regent for the king (1454). But within a year Henry recovered his senses, York was dismissed, and Somerset returned to power. York now took up arms, and the first battle in a long and sanguinary struggle was fought at St Albans (1455). The Yorkists won, Somerset was slain, and the king was captured. As the king now lost his wits again, York became a second time Protector (1456). Again, however, the king recovered, and again York was dismissed.

A severe struggle now began. The strength of York lay mainly in the south—in London and the great commercial cities. The church and the bulk of the gentry were on the Lancastrian side, but the most powerful nobles were on the side of York.

At the head of the nobility stood Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, known as the Kingmaker. Warwick's vast estates illustrated the way in which, by marriage and inheritance, the power of a great baronial house was built up. He had eight hundred men who wore his badge—"the bear and the ragged staff". He was an ambitious, passionate man, and no great statesman, but his power made him perhaps the most notable figure of his day.

The first campaign of the war (1459–60) ended, after several encounters, in the battle of Northampton, which the Yorkists won. York now boldly claimed the crown. But Parliament devised a compromise, to which York agreed—that Henry should remain king for life, that the duke should have the first place in the government, and that on Henry's death he should succeed to the throne.

But the queen refused to accept this plan, which would have deprived her son Edward of the crown. Collecting an army, she defeated and slew York at Wakefield (Dec 1460). Richard's place was taken by his son Edward, who at once marched on London. The queen hurried in the same direction, but was obliged to retreat, and the young duke, entering London, was declared king as Edward the Fourth (1461).

Shortly afterwards he defeated the Lancastrians with great slaughter at Towton. This battle practically decided the war. For several years Margaret, with the aid of the French, maintained a desperate resistance in the north. But in 1464 she was forced to leave the country. Next year the old king fell into Edward's hands.

The Yorkist cause now appeared secure, and Edward, who had hitherto leaned much on Warwick, began to act independently. Warwick wished Edward to marry the sister-in-law of the French king, Louis the Eleventh. But Edward had his own views on the subject, and while Warwick was away he secretly married (1464) Elizabeth Woodville, the widow of a Lancastrian noble.

Disgusted with this, and still more with the promotion of the queen's relations at the expense of the Nevilles and their friends, Warwick resolved to avenge himself by driving Edward from the throne. With this object he made a compact, first with Edward's brother, the Duke of Clarence, and afterwards with Margaret, Henry the Sixth's queen, to whose son, Edward, he betrothed his daughter Anne. Insurrections, stirred up by Warwick, broke out in various parts of the country (1469). Still, Edward seemed to suspect no treachery, so that when Warwick and Margaret landed in England (1470) he was taken by surprise, and had to fly.

The King of France had assisted Warwick in this attempt, and now the Duke of Burgundy, who had married Edward's sister Margaret, gave help to his brother-in-law. Six months later Edward returned to England, and another revolution took place. Marching rapidly on London, he defeated and slew Warwick at Barnet. A fortnight later he destroyed

the remnant of the Lancastrian forces under Margaret at Tewkesbury (1471)

Prince Edward was slain upon the field, and soon afterwards the old king Henry was murdered in the Tower. Thenceforward Edward the Fourth reigned secure, and when he died, in 1483, the crown passed without opposition to his son, Edward the Fifth.

But the tale of violence was not yet complete. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the boy-king's uncle and guardian, turned traitor to his nephew, and made himself king. There can be little doubt that he went further, and murdered the young Edward and his brother. But his crime profited him little, for two years later, Henry of Richmond, the head of the Lancastrian house, overthrew him on the field of Bosworth (1485). With this event, and the accession of Richmond as Henry the Seventh, the Wars of the Roses came to an end.

44. The Stewarts and the Nobility in Scotland.

IN Scotland, several causes besides the feeble character of the kings who succeeded Robert the First helped to weaken the government. The houses of Douglas and Moray, and other noble families, became so wealthy and powerful that they were more than a match for the crown. The long wars with England had exhausted Scotland, much as the wars with France exhausted England. Manners were brutalized, the crown was impoverished, and the barons maintained bodies of armed followers.

Parliamentary institutions had grown up, but they were not yet sufficiently strong to put down violence or to enforce the law. Finally, the Highlands were still in a state of chronic unrest, for the Celts there had not yet submitted to the Anglo-Norman rulers of the Lowlands. At length their fate was sealed by their overthrow in the battle of Harlaw (1411).

Such was the state of the kingdom in 1424 when James the First, son of Robert the Third, returned from his long captivity in England. He soon set about establishing his authority. In this he showed great determination, but some want of tact and no little disregard of law. He put to death his cousin Albany, the son of the late regent. He summoned the Highland chiefs to a meeting at Inverness, and upon their coming threw them into prison. A general revolt broke out, which James put down with a high hand.

On the other side, James strengthened himself by holding regular Parliaments, and by improving the law, the coinage, and the law courts, but he offended the barons by inquiring into their title deeds, and by seizing the estates of some of them. They retaliated by murdering him in a monastery at Perth (1437). James the First was a poet of no mean skill. In his chief poem, "The King's Quan," that is, the King's Book (French *cahier*), he describes, in an allegorical fashion, the combination of love, virtue, and knightly service.

James the Second, the son of the murdered king, was a child when his father died. The greatest man in Scotland at that time was William, head of the great family of Douglas, who formed a league with several of the northern lords. When James came of age, he called on Douglas to break his league with the north, and on his refusal he stabbed him with his own hand (1452). This led to a rebellion, in which the power of the Black Douglasses (as they were called) was broken, but most of their estates went to the Red Douglasses, another branch, who became quite as troublesome. Shortly afterwards the king went to war with England, and lost his life at the siege of Roxburgh Castle (1460).

The reign of his son, James the Third, was no better than that of his predecessors. During his minority, the nobles were provoked by the usurpations of the Boyds, the king's guardians, who were low-born men. When he came of age, James fell out with his brothers, who were more popular than himself, and he continued his attachment to favourites of low birth.

The discontent of the nobility was fomented by Edward

the Fourth, and when James called upon his barons to join him in an invasion of England a rebellion broke out. They seized and hanged the king's favourites. Subsequently the nobles rebelled again, and James lost his crown and his life at the battle of Sauchieburn (1488).

45. Ireland under English Rule.

THE history of Ireland after the Anglo-Norman Conquest is for the most part a dreary tale of rebellion and wrong-doing. The English Government took little trouble to extend its authority in the island, and the half-finished conquest of Henry the Second remained for centuries incomplete. It would have been better for Ireland either to have remained independent, like Scotland, or to have been thoroughly conquered, like Wales.

From the twelfth to the sixteenth century, Ireland lay, as it were, in a back-water, away from the main stream of British and European history. During all that time the sense of Irish nationality seemed to grow ever stronger, while Irish character, habits, and customs exercised a curious fascination on the conquerors themselves. Nothing could prevent the absorption of the English by the Irish element, and the settlers are said to have become "more Irish than the Irish themselves."

When Henry the Second portioned out the forfeited Irish lands and rights to the Anglo-Norman barons who had conquered the country, these nobles in many cases took over the chieftainships of the Irish princes whom they displaced. Hence the rise of the great families of Burke (De Burgh) in Connaught, of the Fitzgeralds (or Geraldines) and the Butlers in Munster, of the Laces, De Courneys and others. In later days the heads of these Anglo-Irish families led many rebellions against English authority.

While vast estates fell into the hands of these foreign invaders, the greater part of Ireland, especially

remained in the hands of the native chiefs. These chiefs rendered a shadowy homage to the English King sometimes paying tribute but keeping their own laws, habits, and government. Between them and the English settlers there was for a long time almost constant war.

The only part of Ireland which adopted the English language, with English law and custom was the "Pale," as it was called—that is a district along the eastern coast. Originally, this district embraced the greater part of Leinster, being indeed the original kingdom of that name inherited by Strongbow,

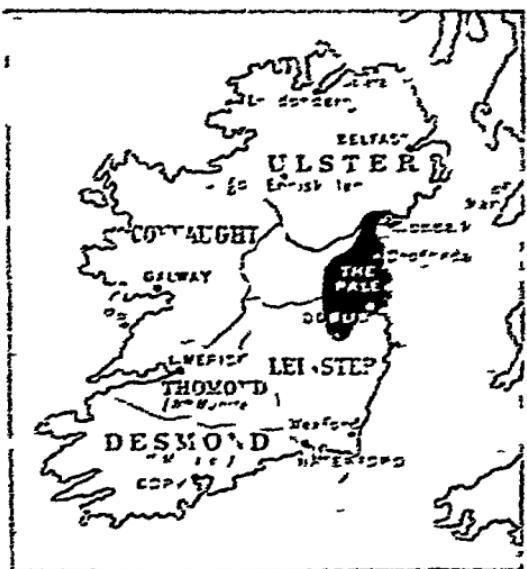
but it gradually shrank to much narrower limits. It was governed by a deputy, the predecessor of the modern lord-lieutenant.

Within this district, of which Dublin was the capital, the "writs or commands, of the English king and his judges were valid outside it they were of no avail. When an Irish Parliament was established, in the reign of Edward the First,

its members, with few exceptions, were drawn from the Pale alone. The statutes passed by this Parliament might, in theory, affect all Ireland, but they were disregarded beyond the Pale.

The invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce, brother of Robert the First, King of Scotland inflicted a severe blow on English power (1315). He was at first successful and was even crowned King of Ireland. But after this he made little progress, and in 1318 he was defeated and slain.

Some time later, Richard the Second paid two visits to



Ireland, and did what he could to restore good government, but without much effect. During the next century it could hardly be expected that England, intent on the great struggle with France, or torn by the Wars of the Roses, should pay much attention to Ireland.

Thus, at the end of the fifteenth century, Ireland was as badly off as it had been in the time of Henry the Second. The English Pale had shrunk to a small district round Dublin. Outside of the Pale, civilization had not advanced, it had rather gone back. Irish art, literature, and education had practically disappeared. The clergy were ignorant and degraded. The masses were half-barbarous. The great lords alone had any refinement, and they had little enough. Such were the results of three centuries of so-called English rule.

46. The End of the Middle Ages.

THE accession of Henry the Seventh in 1485 is generally taken as marking, in English history, the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times. On the Continent great alterations were taking place, which led, at least in western Europe, to a new state of things. The Papacy and the Empire were losing ground, Italy and Germany were growing more and more disunited, while the two great western monarchies, France and Spain, grew stronger every year.

But it was not only politics that entered on a new phase about this time. What is called the Renaissance—that is, the "New Birth"—began to be felt in Europe about the middle of the fifteenth century. It was a new birth in art, science, and literature, ultimately it had a great effect upon religion. This movement was due to several causes.

The most powerful was the invention of printing with movable types, which was first practised in Germany and Holland, about 1455. It was brought to England by Caxton, who began to print at Westminster about 1477. Soon afterwards



(By permission of Lord Lytton.)

Caxton's Printing Office in the Almonry at Westminster By Daniel Mynlle. In the centre King Edward IV and his Queen.

printing was introduced into Scotland. The immense importance of this invention in spreading knowledge, stimulating thought, and making books accessible to the many, need not be explained.

Another cause was the study of Greek literature. Very few persons could read Greek in the Middle Ages, though every educated man knew Latin. When, in 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turks, many of the Greeks there fled to Italy, carrying their books with them. The study of Greek was eagerly taken up in Italy, whence it spread to other countries of western Europe.

Greek books, especially those of the philosophers, set men thinking about many things, and opened a new world to their imagination. Art, especially sculpture and architecture, was profoundly modified by Greek influence. Still more important, in its effects upon religion, was the study of the New Testament in the original text, which now began.

But of all the events which tended to make a new era for western Europe, and especially for Great Britain, none is more important than the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, and the opening of the route to India round the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama in 1497. A new world was thus displayed, a new and stirring career opened up to adventurous men and nations. Commercial and colonial interests soon became, for several great states, the chief motives of their policy.

All these things together were beginning to influence men's ideas and the constitution of society. The old mediaeval types—the baron and the knight, the monk and the friar, the pilgrim and the villein—were fading away into the past. A wider and freer life was opening out, both in thought and in action. The ancient limits were giving way, men began to lose reverence for the old, to be less afraid of the new. A time began which, at the outset, appeared likely to be full of great things.



The Pilgrimage to Canterbury

My Immense pleasure [lies] " Canterbury Tales]

— 13 — in the National Gallery [The characters from Chaucer]

By Thomas Stothard, R.A., in the National Gallery	By Thomas "Canterbury Tales"]	[The characters from Chaucer's
9 The Ploughman	13 The Priorress	17 The Wife of Bath
10 The Yeoman	14 The Clerk of Oxford	18 The Pardoner
11 The Parson	15 The Shipman	19 The Summoner
12 The Nun	16 Chaucer	20 The Monk.
		21 The Friar
		22 The Carpenter
		23 The Cook.

PART IV

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MODERN STATE

47. Henry VII. and the New Monarchy.

HENRY THE SEVENTH, the founder of the Tudor line—so called from his father, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond—belonged to the House of Lancaster. The direct line of Henry the Fourth became extinct when Henry the Sixth and his son Edward, Prince of Wales, were killed in 1471. But John of Gaunt had several other sons besides Henry the Fourth, and from one of these Henry the Seventh was descended through his mother.

This, of course, did not give him a better right to the throne than the Yorkist line, now represented by Elizabeth, the elder daughter of Edward the Fourth, who should by hereditary right have succeeded to the throne. To secure the support of the Yorkists, Henry married this princess. The marriage was a politic one, for by it the claims of York and Lancaster were combined for the first time.

Nevertheless, Henry was troubled for many years by pretenders to the throne. The first of these, one Lambert Simnel, who gave out that he was the young Earl of Warwick, a nephew of Edward the Fourth, made his appearance in 1487. He gave Henry very little trouble, for his supporters were beaten as

soon as they took the field. The pretender himself fell into the king's hands, and was pardoned with some contempt.

Another claimant, Perkin Warbeck, said to have been a native of Flanders, proved more dangerous. Perkin appeared first in Ireland (1492), alleging that he was Richard, younger son of Edward the Fourth, and that he had escaped from the Tower when his elder brother was murdered. He was taken up by the French king, Charles the Eighth, by the old Duchess of Burgundy, Margaret, Edward the Fourth's sister, and by James the Fourth, King of Scotland. But none of his supporters gave him much real help.

Eventually he landed in Cornwall (1497) with a small force. The men of Cornwall had risen the year before to resist taxation, and had been beaten and dispersed. They now rose again in favour of Warbeck. But before long he was deserted by his followers, was taken prisoner, and was shut up in the Tower. Two years later, on a charge of plotting afresh against the king, both he and the Earl of Warwick were executed.

These troubles show that the first Tudor king could not for a long while have regarded himself as secure. But when they were overcome, he devoted himself resolutely to the task of establishing the power of the crown. In this he was supported by the nation at large, which clearly saw that the only force capable of putting an end to the disorders of the previous century was a strong monarchy.

The people in general had taken but little part in the quarrels of York and Lancaster, which had been fought out by the great lords and their retainers. They were heartily sick of fruitless wars, which disturbed trade and industry, and destroyed the influence of England abroad.

On the other hand, the wars had greatly reduced the power and the wealth of the baronage, as well as their numbers, and had undermined their influence with the nation. The church, too, had sunk far below its ancient position. Thus the two great bodies—the baronage and the church—which in the Middle Ages had formed the most effective check on the power of the sovereign—were incapable of resistance,

while the growing middle class—the gentry, the merchants, and the industrial classes—were actively on the side of the crown.

Starting with these advantages, Henry strengthened himself still further by his policy. He passed laws making it illegal for the nobles to keep bodies of retainers or to interfere with justice, and he took care that they were carried out. He also established (1487) a new court of law, afterwards called the Star Chamber, which had great powers, and proved strong enough to put down disorder throughout the country.

In course of time Henry became very wealthy. He had great estates, which had been forfeited to the crown by the baronage. Parliament also granted him large taxes, and he put in force all the rights of the crown that could bring any money into the exchequer. Thus he became almost independent of Parliament, which was rarely summoned in the latter part of his reign.

Finally, his foreign policy was very successful. It was directed partly toward securing his throne, partly toward the encouragement of trade. He married his daughter Margaret to James the Fourth of Scotland, and he betrothed his son Arthur to Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand of Spain. He also made a commercial treaty, called the "Great Intercourse," with the Netherlands, which was of advantage to both countries. Thus, when he died in 1509, he handed on a secure crown and a prosperous country to his son, Henry the Eighth.

48. Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey.

HENRY THE EIGHTH was a stronger king even than his father, for Henry the Seventh had never been personally popular. He was a dry, hard man, preferring business to pleasure, miserly and exacting. Henry the Eighth, on the other hand, had many attractive qualities. He was young,

handsome, open-handed, and accomplished, a good scholar, and a fine horseman. It was only in his old age that he became suspicious, irritable, and cruel.

One of the chief sources of Henry's power was that he united in his own person the claims of the houses of York and Lancaster. Another is to be found in the condition of foreign affairs during his time. The two great countries of Western Europe, France and Spain, already very strong, became wealthier and more powerful in the sixteenth century. Spain was especially formidable, for under its king, Charles the Fifth, it was combined with the Netherlands and the Empire. Besides all this, there was the growing wealth of the West Indies, which for a long time belonged exclusively to Spain.

In these circumstances, if England was to hold her own, it was absolutely necessary that the government should be strong and free to act. It was also necessary that England should provide herself with allies on the Continent, and this was no easy matter. Foreign policy became very complicated, and from mere ignorance of what was going on Parliament was obliged to leave foreign affairs very much in the hands of the king.

During the first half of his reign, Henry had the assistance of a famous statesman, Thomas Wolsey. This great man was not of high birth, but rose to power through his wits and his industry. He had been chaplain to Henry the Seventh, and soon after Henry the Eighth's accession he became a member of the Privy Council. He proved himself so useful to Henry during his first war, that he was made Archbishop of York (1514). Shortly afterwards he became chancellor, and chief adviser to the crown. In 1515 he became a cardinal, and in 1517 papal legate in England.

Wolsey was a very ambitious man, and tried hard to become Pope. He was therefore eager to maintain the authority of the Papacy, and he saw that it was necessary for this purpose to reform the church. But he was also sincerely anxious for the greatness of his country, and this he thought was to be best attained by rivalry with the ancient enemy, France.

In 1511 Henry joined the "Holy League" of the Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Spain, and the Pope against the French, who were trying to get a footing in Italy. Henry invaded France from the north, and took Tournay. But soon afterwards the league broke up, and Henry made peace. When in 1515 Francis the First became King of France, he continued the policy of his predecessors by invading Italy, where he had great success. This brought him into collision with Charles the Fifth, and these two sovereigns disputed the pre-eminence in Europe during the rest of Henry's reign.

Both Francis and Charles were desirous of gaining the alliance of England in the coming struggle. Henry and Francis had a meeting near Calais, which, from the splendour of the entertainment on both sides, was called the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." But there was no real friendship between them, and Wolsey brought about an alliance with Charles. Soon afterwards, when war broke out between Charles and Francis, Henry declared openly against France (1521).

In the war that followed, an English army twice invaded France from Calais (1522, 1523), but made little progress. Charles was more intent upon turning the French out of Italy than on helping England to gain land in France. Disgusted at his lukewarmness, Henry retired from the war.

But though deserted by England, Charles firmly pursued his own objects, and in 1525 won the great battle of Pavia. This battle drove the French from Italy, and made Charles supreme in Europe. Wolsey now proposed to renew the alliance with Charles, with the object of conquering France. But the Emperor, by no means anxious for such an increase of Henry's power, declined the proposal. This caused an estrangement between the former allies, which was increased by Henry's proposal to divorce his wife Catherine, who was the Emperor's aunt. At the same time, Wolsey was disappointed at not obtaining the papal crown, which he had hoped to secure through the Emperor's assistance, and this made him the more willing to break with Charles the Fifth.

49. The Causes of the English Reformation.

GRATE movements like the English Reformation may have their origin in large and remote causes, but it is generally some trivial incident that actually sets them in motion. Thus the divorce of Henry the Eighth from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, was the immediate occasion of the English Reformation, but its deeper causes must be sought much further back.

The first of these was a long-standing hostility to the Papacy—a hostility strongly felt in the reigns of John, Henry the Third, and Edward the First. The feeling against Rome grew much stronger in the fourteenth century. In the reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second, several Acts of Parliament were passed to check the papal power. One of these—the great Statute of Præmunire, 1393—declared heavy penalties against any one introducing papal “bulls,” or exercising in England any power conferred by the Pope.

Nevertheless, the Pope continued to exercise an authority which limited the independence of the state. Not only had he supreme judicial authority in ecclesiastical matters, but he also drew large revenues from England in the shape of the “first-fruits” of benefices, and of “Peter’s Pence.” In spite of the statutes mentioned above, many bishoprics and other benefices were held by the Pope’s nominees. Finally, by means of the terrible weapon of excommunication, he could generally bring the stoutest opponents to their knees. (Against all this the national spirit was ready to rebel, and it was restrained only by ancient habit and religious feeling.)

But hostility was felt not only towards Rome. A large and growing section of the people were jealous of the wealth and the political power of the church in England. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the church led the resistance to royal tyranny, and did more than any other body to

educate and civilize the country. On that account, the people were willing enough at that time to see great offices of state in the hands of churchmen.

But when the church began, in the fourteenth century, to neglect its higher duties, and to oppose reforms, when, at the same time, it grew selfish and persecuting, and amassed riches and lands, the people became jealous of its power. In the fifteenth century the House of Commons more than once proposed to confiscate part of the church lands for public uses. Wolsey himself obtained leave from the Pope to suppress a number of small monasteries for educational purposes, and out of their revenues he founded his great college, now called Christ Church, at Oxford.

Finally, no little dislike was felt for the powers of self-government which the church possessed. The clergy voted their own taxes for the use of the state. Complaints were made of the heavy dues which they exacted for marriages and burials. Still stronger objection was felt to the freedom from the ordinary law which the clergy had won in the twelfth century, and which they still retained.

High-minded churchmen had begun to see that, if the influence of the Romish Church in England was to be maintained, a strong effort must be made to remove the abuses which caused it to be hated rather than loved. A small knot of men, who were friends at Oxford, laboured together for this end in the early years of the sixteenth century. The chief of them were Erasmus, the famous scholar from Rotterdam, John Colet, afterwards Dean of St Paul's, and Thomas More.

They did their best to substitute energy for slackness, learning for ignorance, and enlightened religion for superstition. Colet's sermons taught the way to rational piety, the "Colloquies" of Erasmus and his "Praise of Folly" showed up many absurdities of the day, while More's great work, the "Utopia" (that is, Nowhere)—a sketch of an imaginary commonwealth—filled men's minds with new and progressive ideas, and revived English literature. But these great scholars and writers had no sympathy with the tenets of the Lollards,

which in spite of persecution still survived in London and the eastern counties. Nor did they welcome the teaching of the great German Reformer, Luther, against whom the king himself wrote a book, for which he received from the Pope the title "Defender of the Faith."

Luther declared against the Pope in 1520, and his doctrines soon penetrated to England. But they took little hold at first. Whatever influence they had later—and this was, doubtless, very great—they produced little effect on the first part of the Reformation, in Henry the Eighth's reign. That made a revolution in the relations of church and state, but it left religion almost unchanged.

50. The Reformation under Henry VIII.

IT was while the country was thus generally hostile to the Papacy that the question of the king's divorce arose. Henry's elder brother, Arthur, had been betrothed to Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. But Arthur died young, and Catherine was then betrothed to Henry. The marriage took place soon after Henry became king.

Several children were born of the marriage, but the only one that lived was Mary, afterwards queen. At this time there was nothing so important to the welfare of the nation as the settlement of the succession. Were Henry to die childless, anarchy was certain to ensue, for it was very doubtful who, after him, had the best claim. At any rate, the peace of the country was in danger so long as one child only, and that a girl, stood between it and civil war.

Moreover, doubts had already been thrown on Mary's legitimacy, on the ground that Henry had no right to marry his brother's widow. It seems probable that Catherine was never actually married to Arthur, but Henry took advantage



Embarcation of Henry VIII at Dover Attributed to Hans Holbein, in Hampton Court Palace [Departure for the
"Field of the Cloth of Gold"]

of the doubt, and in 1527 applied for a divorce. His affections were perhaps already fixed elsewhere. At any rate, about the same time he fell in love with Anne Boleyn, one of the queen's maids of honour.

Wolsey undertook to carry through the business of the divorce, and got the Pope to send Cardinal Campeggio to England to act with himself as a judge in the case. But the Pope was now under the influence of Charles the Fifth, who, as Catherine's nephew, naturally espoused her cause. Not daring to offend the Emperor, the Pope instructed Campeggio to delay judgment. So the trial dragged on, and Henry became impatient.

At length Catherine "appealed" directly to the Pope, who called the case to Rome (1529). This was the cause of Wolsey's fall. He had undertaken to procure the king's divorce, and had failed. Through his devotion to the king's interests, and on account of the great power he enjoyed, he had become hateful to the nobility. They now clamoured for his dismissal, and Henry was not sorry to yield.

Wolsey was suddenly deprived of his offices, and was charged with breaking the Statute of Paimunire by acting as legate for the Pope. He was condemned, and all his property was forfeited to the crown. On this occasion he received a partial pardon from the king, and was allowed to retire to his archbishopric. But shortly afterwards fresh charges were brought against him, and while on his way to London he died (1530).

Meanwhile the great Parliament which was to carry through the Reformation had met (November 1529). Henry's policy was now under the management of Thomas Cromwell, a former servant of Wolsey, who had attracted the king's attention by the boldness and ability with which he defended his fallen master against a charge of high treason. He was a wily, resolute, and unscrupulous man, and left an indelible mark on the history of his country by guiding the Reformation in the interests of the crown.

Parliament began by passing statutes to reform certain

ecclesiastical abuses. Negotiations with Rome went on for the next two years, but without result. As the Pope remained obstinate about the divorce, Henry began to put pressure on him. The clergy, as a body, were declared to have fallen under the penalties of *Præmunire*, by obeying Wolsey as legate. They only bought their pardon by paying a large fine, and by recognizing Henry as their head (1531).

Three years later, after reforming the church courts, Parliament made the first great attack on the Pope by enacting that the payment of "annates," or first-fruits, should cease. The clergy, too, were compelled to promise to pass no more canons or church laws without the king's consent. Before that (1532), Henry settled the question of the divorce by marrying Anne Boleyn.

There was now no further chance of reconciliation with Rome. Parliament therefore passed an Act (1533) ordering that appeals to Rome should cease. Thereupon Cranmer, who had lately been made Archbishop of Canterbury, held his court, tried the king's case, and declared him divorced from Catherine and legally married to Anne.

The connection with Rome was finally severed by the Act of Supremacy (1534). This statute abolished the authority of the Pope in every respect, made the king supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and placed in his hands all power of punishing heresy. Such powers were more than the Pope had ever possessed.

The last important Act of the Parliament of 1529 was that which empowered the king to suppress the smaller monasteries (1536). An inquiry was held, which brought to light considerable abuses, and made the most of those it found. The larger monasteries were subsequently dissolved under a statute passed in 1539. Whatever may be thought about the dissolution of the monasteries, there can be no justification for the wholesale destruction of their magnificent buildings, or for the use made of their property, which was not devoted to national purposes but was wasted by the king or lavished on greedy courtiers.



Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey By Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in the
Guildhall Art Gallery London

With this event the Reformation, so far as Henry the Eighth was concerned, may be said to have closed. Henry adhered to the old religion, with some slight modifications. He unintentionally aided Protestantism by setting up in every church an English translation of the Bible, and by having part of the service book put into English, but in other respects he did his best to keep religion on its ancient lines.

51. Some Results of the Reformation.

THE Reformation under Henry the Eighth was, as we have seen, only a partial one. The authority of the Pope was indeed destroyed, but the king had stepped into his place, and the doctrines of the church were practically unchanged as long as Henry lived.

Still, partial as it was, the effects of Henry's work were immense. The church was now national, and changes in religion became easy. The power of the crown was vastly increased. The church, instead of being a bulwark against royal aggression, became the chief support of the crown. The bishops were henceforward royal nominees, and every one who desired promotion had to look to the king.

The royal revenue had also received large additions. The first-fruits and tenths, formerly given to the Pope, were now paid to the king. The abbey estates, probably about one-sixth of the cultivated land of England, would, if they had been retained, have made the crown almost independent of Parliament. Fortunately for English liberty, only a small portion was so retained. But the rest, given away, or sold far below their value, attached the landed classes to the crown. Perhaps even more important than all this was the enhanced dignity, amounting to a sort of sanctity, which the headship of the church conferred upon the king.

These great changes, indeed, were not carried through without resistance. In the north of England a serious insur-

rebellion, called the "Pilgrimage of Grace," broke out in 1536. It was chiefly due to the attack upon the Pope and the dissolution of the monasteries. A similar insurrection, but more largely due to social discontent, took place in Lincolnshire.

Many earnest churchmen, both clerics and laymen, bitterly deplored the breach with Rome. The Act of Supremacy ordained an oath to be taken by all persons of position, professing acceptance of the king's headship over the church. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, who had succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, refused to take the oath. They suffered death for their refusal, as did many of lower rank.

Resistance to the dissolution of the monasteries was also punished with death. The Abbot of Glastonbury was hanged on a hill outside his own abbey for refusing to surrender. At the same time those who rejected the Romanist doctrines were visited with the severest penalties. To the end of his reign, Henry maintained this half-way position.

In 1537 there were discovered, in the west of England, signs that another insurrection was preparing. It was chiefly due to religious feeling, but some of the surviving members of the Yorkist house—notably the Marquis of Exeter, a grandson of Edward the Fourth through his younger daughter Catherine—were implicated in it. This gave Henry a pretext for attacking such of his relatives on that side as might in any way profit by his death or deposition.

The Marquis of Exeter and several of his supporters were charged with high treason, and were executed (1538-39). In 1541 the old Countess of Salisbury, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, and niece of Edward the Fourth, also perished on the scaffold. These and other executions gave to Henry's later years the appearance of a "reign of terror." But his blows fell mainly on the great, and it seems clear that the majority of the people supported Henry in all that he did.

Henry's domestic relations were generally unsatisfactory. Of his six wives, two, Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, were executed on the ground of faithlessness to the king. One, Jane Seymour, died after giving birth to a son, Edward. Two,

Catherine of Aragon and Anne of Cleves, were divorced. The last, Catherine Parr, managed to survive her husband.

The marriage with Anne of Cleves was the cause of Thomas Cromwell's ruin. Intent on his reforming policy, Cromwell wished to connect Henry with the Protestant princes of northern Germany, who were opposed to Charles the Fifth. With this view he brought about the marriage of Henry with Anne, daughter of the Duke of Cleves.

But the projected treaty with the German princes fell through, and Henry, who disliked Anne from the first, was disgusted with Cromwell's policy. Cromwell, like Wolsey, had become hateful to many through his great power. Now that he had fallen out with the king, his destruction was easily brought about. He was condemned by a parliamentary Bill of Attainder, and was executed (1540).

For the rest of the reign Henry was his own prime minister. He returned to his old connection with Charles the Fifth, and the two kings made joint war on France. In this war Henry won the only considerable foreign success of his reign, in the capture of Boulogne (1544). Soon afterwards peace was made (1546). One of Henry's latest acts was to send to the scaffold, on a flimsy charge of treason, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, a poet to whom English literature is indebted for the introduction of blank verse. In 1547 the king died.

52. The Reformation under Edward VI.

HENRY was succeeded by his son, Edward the Sixth, a child ten years of age. By Henry's will the government was placed in the hands of a council of sixteen "executors". The most influential person in the council was Lord Hertford, brother of Jane Seymour, and uncle to the king. He soon became Protector, with the title of Duke of Somerset.

Somerset was a strong Protestant, and was anxious to carry on that change in the doctrines of religion which had been retarded by Henry the Eighth's adherence to the doctrines of the Romish Church. The Protestant faith had made great advances during the last few years. Many English Protestants, who had gone abroad for fear of persecution, now returned to England, bringing with them the doctrines of Calvin, who had published his chief work on religion in 1536.

The Protestants were still only a minority in England, but Somerset pushed on the Reformation with a high hand. Under his orders, images and painted windows were everywhere destroyed. A Parliament was called, which completed the dissolution of the monastic bodies by confiscating the small religious foundations, called "chantries," which still remained.

The council, of its own authority, issued a collection of "Homilies," or sermons on Protestant doctrine, which were ordered to be read in the churches. Two years afterwards (1549) a Prayer Book was completed, and was accepted by Parliament, and an Act of Uniformity was passed, enjoining its use throughout the kingdom.

But the new Prayer Book did not go far enough, especially in regard to the sacraments, to please the more advanced Protestants. A second Prayer Book, embodying the views of Calvin, was therefore drawn up, and was legalized by a second Act of Uniformity (1552). Lastly, a body of Forty-two Articles, defining the belief of the English Church, was set forth, by the king's authority.

Most of the bishops, with Archbishop Cranmer at their head, approved or actively assisted in these reforms, but Bonner, Bishop of London, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, opposed them, and were imprisoned, while other bishops were deprived of their sees. Thus, in the space of six years, the religion of the state underwent a complete change, for which indeed the country was by no means ready.

The same unwise haste was shown by Somerset in other directions. His unfortunate action towards Scotland will be described by-and-by. He drifted into a war with France the

result of which was that England lost Henry the Eighth's solitary conquest, Boulogne

Meanwhile grave social troubles brought Somerset's government into discredit. The agricultural classes were in a state of great discontent. Finding pasture more profitable than growing corn, the landlords turned much of their arable land into pasture, which greatly reduced the demand for labour.

They also took to enclosing the common lands, and thereby deprived the villagers of valuable rights. Lastly, the dissolution of the monasteries cut off many poor folk from their only means of subsistence, and they roamed the country as vagabonds. Somerset carried his sympathy with the poor to the extreme of excusing their offences, and in other ways raised hopes of revolutionary changes in their favour.

In 1549 two rebellions broke out, in Devonshire and Norfolk. The former, like the Pilgrimage of Grace, was caused by the violent changes in religion. The latter was due to the social evils already described. Both risings were put down, but not without a severe struggle.

Somerset's failures destroyed his hold upon the council, and he was forced to resign his protectorship (1549). His place was taken by Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who continued Somerset's violent religious policy. As a ruler, Warwick was more incapable than Somerset, and less honest. In the council there was gross mismanagement, and the finances fell into disorder. The government became unpopular, and Somerset tried to regain his position. Failing in this, he was charged with high treason, and was executed.

Warwick, who about this time was made Duke of Northumberland, was now supreme. As unscrupulous as he was ambitious, he plotted to bring the crown into his own family. By Henry the Eighth's will, the next heir to the throne, after Henry's daughters Mary and Elizabeth, was Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Mary, the late king's sister. Northumberland married his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane Grey.

In 1553 Edward the Sixth died, and Northumberland

made his great stroke Declaring Mary to be illegitimate, he had Lady Jane proclaimed as queen A more foolish attempt to alter the succession was never made in England Even if Mary were put aside on the ground that she was a Papist, there was no reason for passing over Elizabeth Thus neither Protestants nor Romanists approved of the plan, and it never had a chance of success

An attempt to seize Mary failed, and she was speedily joined by many of the nobility Northumberland collected an army, but his own men deserted him The fleet, too, declared for Mary, and Northumberland, finding that the game was up, surrendered He was soon afterwards executed, along with a number of his supporters, and Mary established herself on the throne



53. Queen Mary and the Romanist Reaction.

THE nation, as a whole, was evidently not in sympathy with the extreme measures of Somerset and Northumberland There was therefore much to encourage Mary in the work of restoring the old religion, and to this she at once addressed herself She was half a Spaniard, and a fervent Romanist, and she had great private wrongs to avenge The daughter of Catherine of Aragon was not likely to forgive those who had brought about her mother's disgrace

She began by releasing Bonner and Gardiner from prison, and restoring them to their bishoprics The former she made a Privy Councillor, the latter became chancellor She restored other deprived bishops, and sanctioned the revival of the "Mass"—that is, the communion according to the Romanist ritual Those Protestant bishops who had married under a law passed in the late reign were turned out of their sees

To reverse the legislation of the last two reigns was a more difficult matter The nobility and gentry feared that

reconciliation with Rome would mean the restoration of the abbey lands. The larger boroughs, too, made a stout resistance.

Mary's first Parliament (1553) was induced, with great difficulty, to repeal the Acts of the last reign. The Prayer Book and the Articles were withdrawn, and the Romanist form of worship was everywhere restored. Still, this was only half the battle. The reformation of Edward the Sixth was undone, but the reformation of Henry the Eighth remained, and the queen was still, against her will, "supreme head" of the church.

Mary's second Parliament (1554) proved more pliable. It repealed all the statutes made against the authority of the Pope since 1529, thus doing away with all the anti-papal measures of Henry the Eighth. It was expressly stated, however, in the Act of repeal that the church property which had passed into the hands of laymen should not be given back. Only on that condition would Parliament consent to a reconciliation with Rome.

In the same Parliament the laws against heresy, which had been repealed by Edward the Sixth, were revived. Finally, in 1555, the church lands that remained in the hands of the crown were restored to the church. As this meant a large reduction of the royal revenue, and a corresponding increase in taxation, it was a very unpopular measure. Mary had thus succeeded in overthrowing the Reformation, but it must not be supposed that her policy was acceptable to all the members even of her own party, many of whom disliked the supremacy of Rome.

Mary's foreign policy was still more distasteful to them. Francis the First, King of France, was now dead, but his policy of opposing the Emperor Charles the Fifth was continued by his son, Henry the Second. Both Henry and Charles were anxious to secure the English alliance, but Mary naturally leaned towards her cousin. In order to strengthen herself in the struggle with Protestantism, she engaged to marry Philip, the son of Charles, and heir to Spain and the Netherlands. This marriage was very unpopular, chiefly because it was foreseen that it would involve England in foreign disputes.

The House of Commons petitioned against the marriage, but in vain. It led to risings in various parts of the country, chief of which was the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt in Kent. Wyatt actually entered London, but his men were killed or dispersed, and their leader was taken and executed. His failure sealed the fate of Lady Jane Grey, who was now (1554) brought to the block, though her only crime was that she had been the instrument of an unscrupulous intrigue.

Shortly afterwards Philip came to England, and was married to Queen Mary. At the same time, Cardinal Pole, a son of the Countess of Salisbury executed in 1541, came to England as legate from the Pope. In the following year he succeeded Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury.

It was highly important to Philip and Mary that they should have a son. On this depended Philip's hold over England, as well as the maintenance of Romanism, for both would cease if Mary died childless and Elizabeth came to the throne. But they had no children, and in 1555 Philip left England.

Saddened and bitterly disappointed, Mary continued firm in her religious policy. The persecution of Protestants, begun some months previously under the direction of Gardiner and Bonner, was continued with increased violence. Bishops Ridley and Latimer were burnt at Oxford. Archbishop Cranmer, who at first showed signs of a willingness to recant, afterwards defied his judges, and died bravely (1556). Many others shared the same fate, especially in London. But Protestantism was not stamped out, and the government only became more hateful.

Meanwhile the struggle between France and Spain had begun again, and in 1557 England, as had been expected, was dragged by the Spanish alliance into war with France. It was a disastrous war, and led in 1558 to the loss of Calais, the last English possession on the Continent. Thus disgraced abroad, hated at home, and miserably conscious that her work would perish with her, Mary died (November 1558). Cardinal Pole died on the following day.



Cardinal Wolsey on his Way to Westminster Hall. By Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in the Guildhall Art Gallery, London

54. England and Scotland, 1488-
1542.

WHILE these rapid and violent changes were passing over England, Scotland enjoyed but little repose. James the Fourth, who succeeded his father after the battle of Sauchieburn (1488), began his reign by being hostile to England. He welcomed Perkin Warbeck to his court, and sent two armies into England on his behalf. But Henry the Seventh, who always preferred diplomacy to force, managed to sever this connection, and James made peace with England in 1497. This agreement ripened, by-and-by, into a marriage between the Scottish king and Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, which led, a century later, to the union of the crowns in the person of James the First.

During the rest of Henry the Seventh's reign the peace held firm, but the warlike temper of his son broke the spell. When Henry the Eighth revived the old quarrel with France, he called into life again the old alliance between France and Scotland. Consequently, whenever Henry crossed the Channel, the Scots gathered on the Border.

The first of these occasions was when Henry invaded France in 1512. In a disastrous hour for Scotland, James declared war on his brother-in-law. A great army, led by the Scottish king in person, crossed the Tweed. The Scots took up a strong position on Flodden Hill. The English under Surrey passed round them, and took post on Branxton field between the Scots and Scotland. The Scots rushed down to the plain with furious onset, but they were utterly defeated, the king himself, with many of his nobles, being among the slain (1513).

His successor, James the Fifth, was a child of two years, and thus there was another long minority—the fourth within a century. Two factions divided the country—the one led by the Earl of Angus, who had married Margaret, the queen-mother, and who was the head of the family of Douglas, the other led

by the Earl of Arran, the chief of the Hamiltons. These factions fought their battles even in the streets of Edinburgh, and the feud continued till the strong measures of the Regent Albany compelled Angus to flee to France.

The Duke of Albany, who was a cousin of James the Fourth, had spent most of his life in France, and had married a Frenchwoman. He made it his chief aim as regent to preserve and strengthen the old alliance between Scotland and France, but his utter failure as a ruler and a soldier forced him finally to leave Scotland (1524).

His departure was followed by the return of the Earl of Angus, who was now in the pay of the English king, and opposed to the French alliance. He at once began to intrigue with the view of placing himself at the head of the government. He succeeded in forming an alliance with Cardinal Beaton, the head of the French party, and he induced the Parliament to make him one of the young king's guardians (1526).

Angus used his position to make himself absolute master of the government, and by keeping the young king a prisoner he retained power for two years. Then James escaped (1528), and took his revenge. Angus was driven out of the country, his estates were forfeited to the king, and the power of the Douglas family was utterly destroyed.

In other directions, too, James succeeded in removing obstacles to the royal authority. He made a great step towards putting down the lawlessness of the Borders by hanging John Armstrong, the chief of the Border marauders. The Earl of Argyle was deprived of his viceregal power in the western Highlands, and the government was brought into direct relations with the chiefs.

After the overthrow of Angus, the anti-English party again got the upper hand. James did not approve of Henry the Eighth's anti-papal policy, and was not inclined to link himself with England by accepting the offer of an English princess in marriage. On the contrary, he married, in 1537, a French princess, Magdalen of Valois, and when she died, he married (1538) Mary of Guise.



Execution of Lady Jane Grey By Paul Delaroche

A war between England and France was now impending, and Henry, anxious to avoid a breach, proposed a meeting with his nephew, in order, if possible, to come to an understanding. James promised to meet Henry (1540), but failed to keep his appointment. This insult led to war, and an English force crossed the Border.

James, whose vigorous domestic policy had made him unpopular with the nobles, with difficulty collected an army. His troops were utterly routed at Solway Moss (1542). Shortly afterwards James died, broken-hearted, it is said, on account of this defeat. He left one child, the famous Mary Queen of Scots, who was born at Linlithgow Palace a few days before her father died.

55. Elizabeth and the Anglican Establishment.

WHEN Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, the English Protestants were in a minority, numbering probably not more than one-third of the population. They were strong in London and the large towns, and in the universities, especially in Cambridge. Many of the nobility and gentry, if not Protestants already, were prepared to become so, but the bulk of the population, including the country districts generally, were still Romanist.

In these circumstances it was necessary for Elizabeth to proceed cautiously. As the daughter of Anne Boleyn, she had been brought up a Protestant, but she had no strong religious convictions. She was first and foremost a politician, and it was from political considerations mainly that she was led at the outset of her reign to decide in favour of Protestantism.

In the first place, the Pope had pronounced the divorce of Queen Catherine to be illegal. If this were so, Elizabeth must be illegitimate, and could have no title to the throne. Her position therefore forced her to renounce the authority of the Pope.

184 Elizabeth and Anglican Establishment

Noi could she, like her father, return the old religion while throwing off the yoke of Rome. The conflict between the two religions had become so keen that this half-way position, which offended both parties, was no longer tenable. Elizabeth was forced therefore to adopt Protestantism as well as to oppose the Pope. At the same time she retained the Episcopal form of church government, because she believed that by it only could the supremacy of the state over the church be maintained.

In her first Parliament (1559) two great statutes were passed. One, the Act of Supremacy, repealed the Acts of Mary's reign, and revived the anti-papal statutes of Henry the Eighth. This Act abolished all foreign power, and declared the queen to be "the only supreme governor of this realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as in temporal." It also imposed on all persons in office an oath acknowledging this supremacy, and it empowered the queen to appoint a commission to enforce the Act.

The second statute was the Act of Uniformity. This Act legalized a Prayer Book based on the first Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth, and it enforced by heavy penalties the use of this book in all religious services throughout the kingdom. A few years later, Convocation drew up and signed the Thirty-nine Articles, defining the state doctrine, and these were afterwards accepted and adopted by Parliament.

Thus the Anglican Church was established on the lines which it has retained to the present day. Elizabeth's subsequent legislation aimed chiefly at strengthening the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity against the opposition of the Romanists on the one hand, and of the Puritans, or more extreme Protestants, on the other. In this work Elizabeth received loyal support from Matthew Parker, who was made Archbishop of Canterbury at the beginning of her reign.

As the strife between Romanists and Protestants became more severe, increased penalties were imposed by statute on those who refused to acknowledge the queen's supremacy, or to worship according to the Anglican ritual. This was especially

the case after the Pope issued his bull excommunicating Elizabeth (1570), and after the Jesuits began to enter the country and to stir up sedition (about 1579)

Eventually, by this series of "Penal Laws," Romanists were excluded from the House of Commons, the universities, and the bar. They were severely punished for worshipping according to their own rites, and some of them priests were executed on charges of high treason.

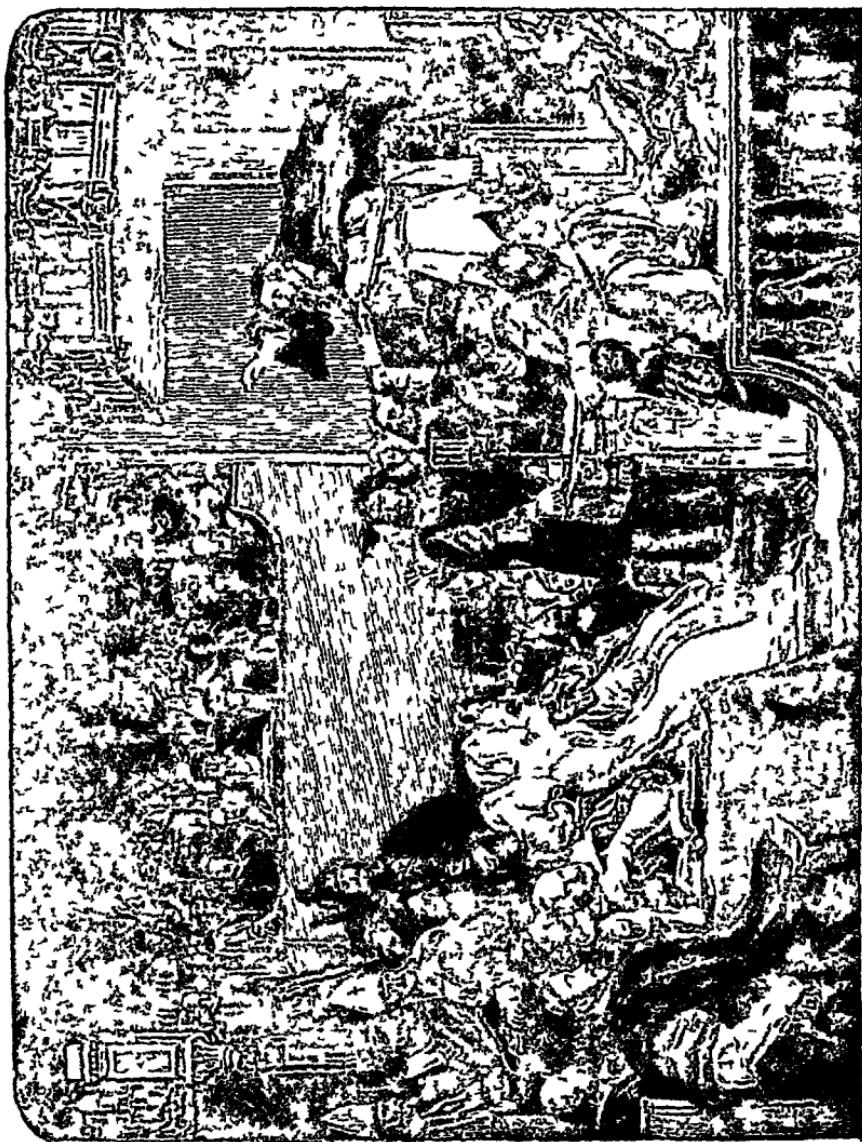
The Puritans, being less dangerous, were dealt with less severely. They were anxious to abolish all that still savoured of Romanism, such as the use of the surplice, and to diminish the authority of the bishops. But Elizabeth obliged the bishops to suppress all irregularities of faith and ritual.

The chief instrument on which she relied for checking such deviations was the Court of High Commission, a body of bishops and others established under the Act of Supremacy. This court, which began in 1559, but was subsequently strengthened and enlarged, deprived the Puritan clergy of their livings, and fined or imprisoned laymen who broke the ecclesiastical law. By these severe measures the Anglican system was maintained.

The chief literary defender of the new establishment was Richard Hooker, an Oxford scholar, afterwards Master of the Temple. His great work, "The Law of Ecclesiastical Polity," is not only a learned, eloquent, and temperate defence of the Anglican Church, but it is one of the masterpieces of English prose.

56. John Knox and Mary Queen of Scots.

THE Scottish Reformation differed from the English in at least one important respect. In England, the religious changes were the work of the monarchy, and the people had but a small share in effecting them. In Scotland, on the other hand, the Reformation was the work of the people, the govern-



Knox preaching at St. Andrews By Sir David Wilkie R.A., in the National Gallery

ment resisted it as long as possible, and was at last forced to give way. It may have been due partly to this difference that the Reformed Church of Scotland was more democratic in character and constitution than that of England.

The character of the Scottish Reformation was largely determined by a single man, John Knox. This great Reformer combined an ardent religious temperament with great intellectual power and much practical ability, while his fervid oratory stirred the masses of the people.

In 1546 George Wishart, an earnest preacher, was burned at St Andrews for heresy by order of Cardinal Beaton. Three weeks later, a party of Reformers, of whom Knox was one, made their way into the castle of St Andrews, killed Cardinal Beaton, and held the castle against the government for more than a year. Eventually the castle was retaken (1547) with French assistance, and Knox was sent to the galleys.

While these religious disturbances were going on, England and Scotland were engaged in war. After the rout of Solway Moss, Henry the Eighth tried to arrange a marriage between his son Edward and Mary, the baby-queen of Scotland, but the Regent Arran rejected his proposals. Henry then declared war. The Earl of Hertford twice invaded Scotland (1544–1545), and committed frightful ravages. Leith, Edinburgh, and many other towns were sacked or burned, and the beautiful abbeys on the Borders were destroyed. When Hertford became Protector, he invaded Scotland a third time, and defeated the Scots at the battle of Pinkie, near Musselburgh (1547). The Scots sent the young queen to France, and continued a steady resistance till 1550, when the exhaustion of both sides led to peace.

Arran's place as regent was taken in 1554 by the queen-dowager, Mary of Guise, who naturally did all she could to promote the interests of France. The marriage (1558) of the young Scottish queen with Francis, eldest son of Henry the Second, who became King of France himself in 1559, made France and Scotland for a time one kingdom. This close connection with France alarmed the Scottish Reformers, and drew them into closer alliance with the English Protestants.

In 1557 the leading Reformers entered into a bond for mutual support, which was called the Covenant. Two years later a second Covenant was signed by all classes of the people. They pledged themselves to throw off the authority of the Pope, and they adopted the English Bible and Edward the Sixth's Prayer Book. About this time Knox returned from France, and at once took the lead.

The burning of Walter Mill, a Protestant, in 1558, led to a violent outbreak. Riots took place, and monasteries were attacked. The Reformers seized Edinburgh, and called a Parliament, which deposed the regent (1559). Then they appealed for help to Elizabeth, with the result that English aid was sent to Scotland, the French were expelled, and the treaty of Edinburgh signed. Shortly afterwards the Protestant party, now supreme in Parliament, abolished the authority of the Pope, and adopted Calvinism as the state religion (1560).

The Reformation had hardly been proclaimed in Scotland when Mary Queen of Scots—a widow by the death of her husband, the King of France, in 1559—returned to her native land (1561). She found the Protestant party in power, its leaders being her half-brother, James Stewart, Earl of Moray, and John Knox. Of these leaders Knox was the more powerful, and had the greater influence with the people till his death, in 1572. Mary, however, was an ardent Romanist, and was resolved to restore the old religion.

It was quite consistent with this intention that Mary should take up an attitude hostile to Elizabeth of England. She rejected Elizabeth's advice that she should marry the Earl of Leicester, and she married instead her cousin, Henry Darnley, who was a Romanist, and was, like himself, a grandchild of Margaret Tudor. On that ground, Mary, while in France, had claimed that her right to the English throne was better than Elizabeth's. She now declared her willingness to give up this claim if Elizabeth would recognize her as her heir. But Elizabeth declined to do so, chiefly because her recognition of a Romanist as her heir would have offended the Protestants in England. Thus rebuffed, Mary joined the so-called Catholic

League, headed by Philip of Spain, the object of which was to destroy Protestantism in Europe

These steps caused a rising of the Protestant lords, under Moray, and when the rising was suppressed, Mary set to work to make herself absolute, with a view to restoring Romanism. Then followed a bitter quarrel between the queen and Darnley, who was already disgusted by her refusal to allow him any power. Some of the nobles, too, were jealous of the influence enjoyed by Mary's secretary, an Italian named Rizzio. Darnley and the malcontent nobles accordingly came to an understanding, and murdered Rizzio in Holyrood Palace (March 1566).

Mary vowed vengeance, but dissembled her wrath. She had transferred her affections to a Border noble, James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, whom she now advanced to high power. On the other hand, Darnley, who had deserted his friends, became contemptible to all, and within a year of Rizzio's murder he was killed in a lonely house near Edinburgh (February 1567).

No one knew exactly how he met his death, or who had killed him, but public opinion fixed on Bothwell as the murderer. This view was strengthened when Mary married Bothwell (May 1567). Public indignation now rose high against the queen, who by this act seemed to take upon herself the guilt of her husband's death. The result was a rebellion, which ended in Mary's being taken prisoner at Carberry Hill (June 1567). She was confined in Lochleven Castle, and was forced to resign the crown to her infant son James, who was born in 1566. The Earl of Moray was appointed regent.

The Protestant party was now supreme. But within a year Mary escaped, and was at once joined by a strong body of supporters. She was, however, defeated by the regent at Langside, and forced to take refuge in England (May 1568). Moray, having defended his action on the ground of Mary's guilt, Elizabeth appointed a commission to try the question. The evidence against Mary was found to be insufficient, and nothing came of the trial, but she was not allowed to go free.

57. Religion and Commerce.

THOUGH the policy of Elizabeth in adopting the Protestant religion at first exposed England to grave dangers from abroad, its ultimate effect was to make this country the first naval power, and therefore the first colonial and commercial power, in the world. Religion and commerce worked together in bringing about this result.

For about forty years after the Reformation began, Protestantism made rapid progress. In 1560 it had won England, Scotland, and a large part of the Netherlands, besides Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, with the greater part of Germany, Hungary, and Switzerland. In France, too, there was a strong Protestant party, called the Huguenots—that is, confederates or “covenanters.” But about 1560 Romanism began to revive, and the Reformation was checked.

This reaction was greatly strengthened by the fact that France and Spain, the two most powerful states of Europe, had declared against the Reformation, and had marshalled against it all their forces. Now, if France and Spain had been politic enough to combine against England, her position would have been exceedingly dangerous, if not hopeless.

Fortunately for England, however, France and Spain were prevented from combining by their mutual political jealousy. Not only was each of them afraid of helping the other to obtain supremacy in Europe, but Philip of Spain in particular was anxious to avoid doing anything that would drive France into the arms of England. Each of them, too, had a weak point within its own borders. France had the Huguenots, and Spain had the Protestants in the Netherlands, both of whom looked to England for sympathy and help. For many years each of these parties was a source of trouble to its government.

All this time there was going on in Scotland a conflict between the party of Queen Mary and that of her son, James the Sixth. The former was Romanist, the latter Protestant, the former leaned on France, the latter looked to England for



Archbishop Cranmer
Traitors' Gate" By Sir George Goodall, R.A., in South Kensington Museum
being committed to the Tower of London

help. Thus the Reformation greatly strengthened English influence in Scotland.

In Ireland, the Reformation had the opposite effect. Protestantism took no hold in Ireland, and the old political hatred of England was now intensified by religious feeling. As the Scottish Romanists looked to France, so the Irish Romanists looked to Spain, whence they received encouragement, and more than once active aid.

Thus in every country of western Europe, except England, Romanists and Protestants faced each other in a deadly struggle. Even in England there was a strong body of Romanists, who, though generally loyal, could not wholly be relied upon.

But religion was not the only question at issue. There was also the question of colonies and commerce. The two great colonizing countries at this time were Spain and Portugal. Spain had large possessions in the West Indies and in Central and South America. Portugal, through the discovery of the route round the Cape of Good Hope, had absorbed the trade with the East Indies. When, in 1580, Philip the Second became King of Portugal as well as of Spain, he had the whole trade of the world, outside of Europe, in his hands.

Though England had as yet no colonies, English sailors had made, during the sixteenth century, many important discoveries across the Atlantic, and several attempts to establish settlements in America were made during the reign of Elizabeth. Through the influence of such men as Sir Thomas Gresham, founder of the Royal Exchange, London, the English were fast becoming a commercial people, and they could not allow Spain to keep her monopoly of American and Asiatic trade. Thus England was drawn into a double rivalry with Spain, religion and trade combined to force the two countries into war. Elizabeth's policy aimed at deferring the struggle as long as possible, but it was inevitable that it should come at last.

58. The Foreign Policy of Elizabeth.

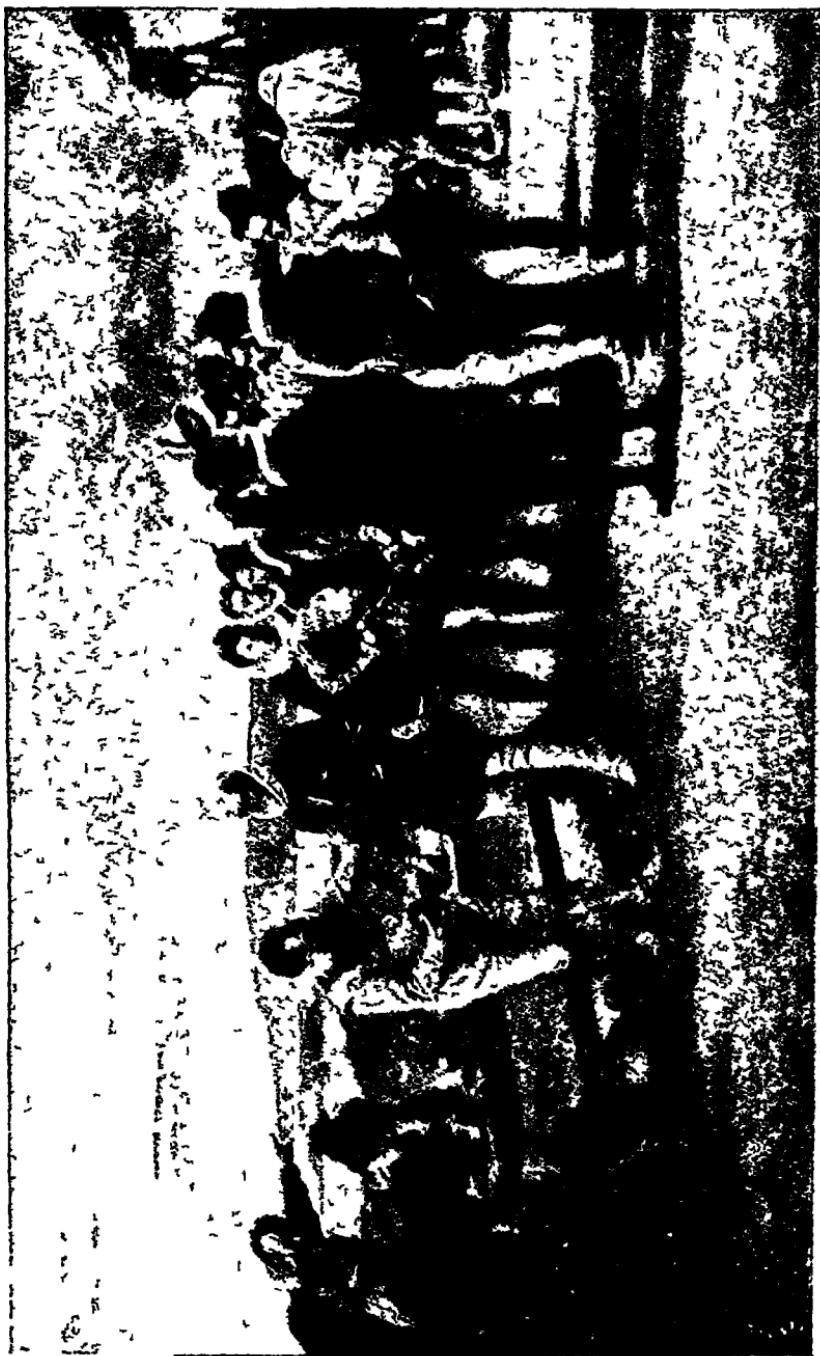
THE great struggle on which England was now obliged to enter was fought out at home and abroad, on land and at sea, by counsel and by force of arms. Elizabeth saw the importance of keeping both France and Spain employed, so as to hinder them from crushing the Protestants within their own dominions. Therefore she gave help first to the Huguenots in France, and afterwards to the Protestants in the Netherlands.

In order to gain her assistance, the Huguenots put the seaport of Havre into Elizabeth's hands (1562), but when they made peace in the following year, she was forced to give it up. After that she sent little help to the Huguenots, for it turned out that they were strong enough to look after themselves. Moreover, she was always loth to help rebellious subjects against their rulers, as it was a bad example to her people. This hindered her from helping the Dutch when they first revolted against Spain in 1566.

A new epoch of the reign begins with the coming of Mary Queen of Scots to England (1568). The Romanists then began to threaten a general attack on Elizabeth. A plot was made to release Mary, to marry her to the Duke of Norfolk, the chief of the Romanist nobility, and to place her on the throne. William Cecil, Elizabeth's chief minister, got wind of the plot, and Norfolk was arrested. His confederates in the north then rose in rebellion under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, but they were defeated, and the earls were driven over the Border into Scotland (1569).

In 1570, Pope Pius the Fifth issued a bull excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth. Acting upon this, the Duke of Alva, then commanding for Philip the Second in the Netherlands, induced the disloyal Papists in England to concoct a fresh plot against her. This was called the Ridolfi Plot, from the agent, an Italian banker, whom Alva employed. It was, however, discovered, and Norfolk was executed (1572).

These events made it more than ever necessary for Eliza-



The Armada in Sight By Seymour Lucas, R.A. (By permission of Mr Arthur Lucas)

beth to keep on good terms with France. But, in 1572, the good understanding was broken off for a time, owing to the terrible massacre of St Bartholomew (August 24), when many Huguenots were slain in Paris and elsewhere. England seemed to be isolated, and Elizabeth prepared for war. Fortunately for her, the Dutch rebellion had shortly before taken a new turn. In 1572 the Protestants had seized the port of Brill, and gained other successes. This saved England for the time, for it made Philip more reluctant than ever to break with Elizabeth.

Meanwhile affairs in Scotland had, on the whole, gone in her favour. The Regent Moray ruled well after the accession of James the Sixth, and kept on good terms with England. But the old feud was not extinct, and in 1570 he was murdered by one of the Hamiltons. A civil war followed, in which the king's party gradually got the upper hand. They took Dumbarton, one of the chief strongholds in Scotland (1571), but the queen's party still held Edinburgh Castle. At length Elizabeth was induced to send help to the regent, the Earl of Morton, and Edinburgh was taken by the Protestants (1573).

The war in the Netherlands, actively carried on since 1572, began about 1578 to go against the insurgents. Elizabeth had allowed many English volunteers to go over to Holland to fight in the Protestant cause, and she had even lent money to the Dutch. Now, when they were almost at the last gasp, she was induced to make a treaty with them (1578), and to send more money. But Elizabeth's danger was great, for at any moment the resistance might collapse, and Philip would then be free to attack England.

At length it became necessary for Elizabeth to act. In 1584 the Duke of Alençon, who had sent help to the Dutch, died, and the great Prince of Orange, William the Silent, who had been the soul of the resistance, was murdered at Delft. Next year (1585) an English force, under the Earl of Leicester—with whom was his nephew, the heroic Sir Philip Sidney—was sent over to aid the Dutch, and this was equivalent to a declaration of war with Spain.

In truth, however, England had long been at war with Spain. English sailors—Drake and Hawkins and others—had long preyed on Spanish commerce in the West Indies. In 1577–80, Drake had sailed round the world, and had come home loaded with Spanish gold. Now, in 1585, he plundered Vigo, on the coast of Spain, and sacked the chief Spanish cities in Central America. Thus the two powers drifted at last into open war.

59. The Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

FOR five-and-twenty years Elizabeth had succeeded in keeping her country at peace, while other nations had been at war. Peace was what England required. It gave her time to grow rich and united, and when at last the great struggle began, she was able to put forth unexpected strength.

On the side of Scotland there was now, fortunately, nothing to fear. When James the Sixth first took the government into his own hands, about 1580, he showed an inclination to join the anti-English party, and to come to terms with his mother. But when the people made it clear that they would have no alliance with Papists, and when the nobles manifested their dislike of James's Romanist favourites, James took the English side, and made a treaty with Elizabeth (1585).

The good understanding thus established was not broken by Mary's death, which, indeed, secured James's eventual succession to the English throne. Plot after plot had been made with the object of releasing Mary and putting an end to Elizabeth's life, though not one of them escaped the scrutiny of Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's diligent secretary. Mary had, naturally enough, connived at those plots. When this became known, great indignation was felt throughout the country, and both the Parliament and the Council demanded vengeance on the Scottish queen.

To this pressure Elizabeth eventually yielded, and Mary was tried and sentenced to death. She was executed in Fotheringay Castle, Northamptonshire, February 1587. It is impossible not to deplore her melancholy fate. She can hardly be blamed for endeavouring to ruin her antagonist. On the other hand, it is not surprising that Elizabeth at last took her revenge.

This event removed Philip's last scruple, and he now determined on the invasion of England. Hitherto he had been withheld by the fear that, if he overthrew Elizabeth and put Mary on the throne, this would bring England under the influence of France. Now there was no longer any fear of this, and he might conquer England for himself.

On the other hand, the execution of Mary enraged the Romanists, and made the Guises eager for revenge. Everything now depended on whether they could get the upper hand in France, so as to help Philip at the right moment. Fortunately for England, the civil war then raging in France prevented the French Government from giving Philip the aid required.

The Spanish invasion was expected in 1587. In that year Drake attacked the Spanish fleet in Cadiz Bay, and did so much mischief that the invasion had to be deferred. But at the end of July 1588, the huge "Armada," as it was called, appeared in the Channel. It numbered about 130 ships, and carried 25,000 men. The English ships were far inferior in numbers and size, but they were more stoutly built and better handled, and their artillery was more powerful.

The object of the Spaniards was to reach Flanders, where they were to take on board the Duke of Parma with his army. They were then to land in England. A running fight was kept up while the Spaniards slowly sailed up the Channel. In this they suffered considerable loss, but the bulk of their fleet at length arrived at Calais. They tried to take shelter there, but were driven out by fire-ships (August 7).

The decisive contest took place off Gravelines next morning (August 8). The English had the wind in their favour, and the Spaniards were totally defeated. Many of their ships



Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury Fort. By Daniel MacIise, F. A. (By permission of the Council of the Art Union of London.)

were sunk or were driven ashore. The remainder fled northward, round the coast of Scotland, but very few reached home. The Armada was annihilated, and all danger of invasion was past.

After this the war continued for the rest of Elizabeth's reign. More than once Philip attempted to renew the invasion, but all his efforts failed. Year by year the English admirals grew bolder and more defiant. They burned the Spanish ships of war in their own harbours, and destroyed or captured their merchant vessels in the West Indies. By the end of the century the command of the sea had passed into the hands of England.

The defeat of the Armada was thus a decisive event. It did not destroy the power of Spain or uproot Romanism, but it saved England from invasion, and thus snatched victory from the Pope. Had England been overwhelmed by Spain, Protestantism in Europe could hardly have survived. In saving herself, England saved the Protestant religion, and restored the balance of power in Europe.

For many years before 1588 the great captains of Elizabeth's navy had been preparing for the final struggle. Frobisher repeatedly tried to discover a North-west Passage—that is, a way to India round the north of America. Hawkins traded in slaves with the Spanish colonies, and plundered Spanish ships. Drake carried the terror of the English name even into the hitherto untroubled waters of the Pacific.

Equally important were the early attempts at colonization. As far back as 1496, John Cabot had discovered Newfoundland and Labrador. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, Cape Breton was settled, and the cod fishery had begun, but it was under Elizabeth that the real advance was made. The name of Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the greatest figures of Elizabeth's reign, will ever be remembered in connection with the colonization of America. Though his two expeditions failed, they led the way to what was afterwards the great colony of Virginia.

In other directions, too, English trade was spreading. Several

great companies were started in Elizabeth's reign. A Russian Company traded through Russia with Persia by way of the Volga and the Caspian. A Levant Company had a large trade with the Eastern Mediterranean.

The direct trade with India was still more important. As Portugal was now united with Spain, the war with Spain gave Englishmen a pretext for attacking the Portuguese monopoly in that part of the world. English merchants made their way round the Cape, and in the year 1600 a charter was given to the East India Company, which was eventually to found a mighty empire in the East. It was the defeat of the Armada that made this vast expansion possible.

60. The Tudor Age.

THE most notable feature of English political history in the Tudor times is the great power of the monarchy. So powerful, in fact, were the Tudors, that we are in the habit of describing their government as a "despotism."

Now, it is quite true that the Tudors were despotic. They managed foreign affairs without any interference from Parliament. They appointed their own ministers, and dismissed them whenever they wished. They changed the religion of the country oftener than once, and put down all resistance with an iron hand.

Nevertheless, it is evident that the Tudor monarchy was not like that of the ancient Roman emperors, or that of the Turkish sultans, or even like the Spanish monarchy of that day. For one thing, the Tudors had no standing army, nor had they money enough to keep one. They had neither colonies abroad nor vast estates at home to make them independent of Parliament. In short, if the nation as a whole had wanted to throw off the Tudor yoke, the Tudors had no means of coercing it.

We are forced, therefore, to conclude that the Tudor mon-

archy was a popular monarchy. The Tudor sovereigns were absolute because they had the support and confidence of the great majority of the people. The nation as a whole felt that its interests were safe in their hands.

On the other hand, we are not to suppose that Parliament counted for nothing during this time. On the contrary, Parliament sanctioned all the great changes of the sixteenth century. It was by parliamentary legislation that the power of Rome was overthrown under Henry the Eighth, restored under Mary, and then again finally abolished. It was Parliament that passed the penal laws against the Romanists, and established the Poor Law on a basis which it retained for centuries.

It is true that Elizabeth habitually checked, and even sometimes imprisoned, members of Parliament who attacked her policy in the House. Still, with legislation and taxation in its hands, Parliament, although it met on the average only once in three or four years, was an indispensable factor in the government. Constitutional forms were, at all events, kept up, and thus a good tradition was maintained.

Finally, we must observe that, except in political cases, the law was more strictly enforced and justice more fairly done between man and man than in any preceding period. The new law courts, such as the Star Chamber, and the councils that governed Wales and the northern counties, were not yet instruments of tyranny. On the contrary, they kept good order, and prevented the rich from oppressing the poor.

In Scotland, though the government was less secure than in England, some constitutional progress was made. The whole Scottish Parliament sat together in one house, as the English Parliament had done before 1332. Since the early part of the fifteenth century the third estate, or the Commons, had contained members from the lower nobility and gentry, as well as from the burghs.

But the Scottish Parliament was less independent than the English, for its powers were to a large extent delegated to a small committee, called the Lords of the Articles, over whom

the crown exercised a strong influence. On the other hand, during the latter part of the sixteenth century there were no bishops in the Scottish Parliament, the Episcopal system having been abolished by the Estates in 1592.

Ireland is the one great blot on Tudor history. That unfortunate country had no share in the growing prosperity which we have observed elsewhere. On the contrary, its condition went from bad to worse. Henry the Seventh paid some attention to it, but all he did was to pass an Act, called Poynings' Law, which practically placed the Irish Parliament under the control of the English Privy Council. Under Henry the Eighth the rivalry of the Butlers (Earls of Ormond) and the Fitzgeralds (Earls of Kildare) frequently led to open war between the two families, or to insurrection against the crown.

During the reign of Elizabeth resistance was almost continuous in one part of the island or another. This was due partly to the attempt to force Protestantism on an unwilling people, partly to the system of colonization which was now introduced. The settling of English colonists in Ireland would, it was thought, strengthen the English authority, and increase the material prosperity of the country.

In some cases land confiscated after a rebellion was granted to persons called "Adventurers," who undertook to colonize it; in other cases the grants were made without such excuse. This policy was fiercely resisted, and led to many a sanguinary struggle. By the end of Elizabeth's reign, however, the English authority had been largely extended, and some advance towards colonization had been made, though the condition of Ireland was as miserable as ever.

These unfortunate events were, however, little noticed in England, and the sun of the last and greatest of the Tudors set in a blaze of glory. It is in the reign of Elizabeth that we find the true English Renaissance. The literature of the Elizabethan age, with its ardent temper, its luxuriant imagination, its joyous confidence, is the outcome of a youthful time. The "Faerie Queene" of Spenser, the plays of Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakespeare, Bacon's "Essays," Camden's



Defeat of the Armada. By P. de Loutherbourg, R.A., in Greenwich Hospital (By permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.)

“Britannia,” Chapman’s translation of the “Iliad,” Sidney’s “Arcadia”—these and countless other works illustrate the many sided intellectual activity of the day. Such works alone are enough to justify us in calling the age great. Added to all else, they make the age of Elizabeth the greatest in British history.

In March 1603 Elizabeth died. With the peaceful accession of King James a new era seemed to open for Great Britain. The ancient quarrel between the two peoples was closed by their union under one crown. The Protestant religion was finally secured in both countries. Free from the dread of foreign conquest and domestic anarchy, the nation could press forward on the path of industry and commerce towards the world-empire that it was one day to win. Many hands took part in this happy consummation, but the chief credit belongs to the great queen.

BOOK II

PART I

THE STRUGGLE FOR PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

i. The Accession of James I.

IN the preceding sections of this volume we have passed in review several distinct periods in the history of our nation. That history records five great invasions and conquests—the Celtic, the Roman, the English, the Danish, and the Norman. These conquests laid the foundations of our society, each adding some of the elements of which the British race in the present day is composed.

Naturally, however, while these conquests were going on, there was a great deal of disturbance. The English were a free people, and governed themselves by discussion and voting in popular assemblies, but the king's authority was weak, and the local rulers were almost independent. The country was therefore disunited and unable to defend itself, while art, science, and trade made but slow progress.

The Normans at length established a strong monarchy, which reduced the nation to order within, and secured it against attack from without. Their successors, the kings of the house of Anjou, curbed the lawless force of the barons, but at the same time they were obliged to grant to their subjects, and especially to the middle classes, a large share of political rights. Thus the foundations of Parliament were laid.



The Pilgrim Fathers leaving Delft Haven By C. W. Cope, R. A. [A party of Puritan exiles from England who lived some years in Holland, whence they sailed in 1620 for America.]

About the same time steps were taken towards the union of the British Islands under one crown, by the conquest of Wales and the partial conquest of Ireland. On the other hand, the unfortunate attempt to conquer Scotland set up a lasting enmity between the English and Scottish nations, which retarded the progress of both. Thus the union between England and Scotland became a great object of English statesmen, especially under the Tudor sovereigns. This union was at last accomplished by the accession of James the Sixth of Scotland to the English throne.

The Tudors had another great task to perform. The wars with France and Scotland had weakened the authority of the king, strengthened the feudal nobility, and implanted a disorderly spirit in the nation. The dispute between the houses of York and Lancaster about the right to the crown had given rise to a terrible struggle—the Wars of the Roses—in which much blood was shed and many great families were ruined. After this, the work of restoring and maintaining order fell to the Tudor sovereigns, who, being very capable rulers, and of an impious turn of mind, succeeded completely in this task. The feudal nobility never recovered its power, and during the sixteenth century the sovereign did pretty much what he liked.

The Tudors ruled partly, no doubt, by terror, but they were really popular, because, on the whole, they ruled well, and enabled quiet and industrious people to grow rich and prosperous. Although they did not summon Parliament very often, they did not attempt to do away with it, on the contrary, they trusted to it, and especially to the House of Commons.

Thus Parliament, which long before had gained control over the making of laws and the granting of taxes, grew more and more important, even under the Tudor despotism. Its members were mostly elected by the country gentlemen, and by the rich merchants in the towns, who were then the most powerful classes in the nation. It was well inclined towards the crown, but it was determined to maintain its rights. It had generally submitted to the great Queen Elizabeth, because the nation had confidence in her, but there was no reason to

expect that it would be equally obedient to a sovereign whom it could not trust

Meanwhile in Scotland things had been taking a somewhat different course. Scotland was in those days a very poor country, and it suffered even more than England from the long wars with its powerful neighbour, and from rebellions among the nobility. Scottish trade and industry were in a backward condition, and the middle classes were not strong enough or wealthy enough to give the king much assistance against his rebellious vassals.

The Scottish barons were even more turbulent than the English, and all through the sixteenth century they continued to set law and order at defiance. Thus the Scottish Parliament was never able to acquire the same sort of authority as the English Parliament possessed. Still, the laws and customs and the languages of the two countries were so much alike that a union between them did not seem unnatural, and after James's accession Scotsmen soon began to make themselves at home in England.

It is evident from all this that the accession of James the First to the English throne made a great difference to both countries. In the first place, it put an end to the ancient enmity between England and Scotland. Now that the two countries were joined together in the kingdom of Great Britain, the joint nation was far stronger and more prosperous than either England or Scotland had been before. It is at this date, therefore, that the growth of the British Empire really begins. Further, the union enabled the king to restore order in Scotland as he never could have done if he had not been King of England as well.

On the other hand, James the First and his successors, the Stuart kings, were not wise rulers, and they put an end to the good understanding between King and Parliament which had existed for so many years. They began a struggle which went on for three quarters of a century, and which came to a close only in the Revolution of 1688. This struggle forms the first period of the history which we have now to survey. When it was over, the rapid advance of the Empire began.

2. James I. and the Puritans.

KING JAMES THE FIRST, who succeeded to the English throne in 1603, had already been King of Scotland for thirty-six years. He was the son of Mary Queen of Scots and her cousin Lord Darnley, her second husband, and he had succeeded to the Scottish throne as James the Sixth when his mother was forced to abdicate in 1567.

He had a great deal of Tudor blood in his veins, for both his father and his mother were grandchildren of Margaret, the sister of Henry the Eighth, who had married James the Fourth of Scotland, and afterwards the Earl of Angus. Thus, when Elizabeth, the last of Henry the Eighth's children, died, James succeeded as the next heir to the English throne. But though he was partly a Tudor by birth, he was not at all like the Tudors in character.

He was called "the British Solomon," because he was supposed to be very wise, and had written some learned books. He was fond of making long speeches, and thought he knew all about the art of government, but he was not really a good ruler, because he could never understand what his people wanted, and could never make up his mind when he was in difficulties.

He had also a great idea of his royal dignity, and talked much about his "prerogative"—that is, his right as king to decide what was best for the nation, and to act accordingly. In this many people agreed with him, for they believed in what was called the "divine right" of kings. They taught that kings were appointed by God, and that it was sinful to oppose them, even when they broke the law.

As for Parliament, most persons thought that it was a very important part of the constitution, and that the king could not make laws or levy taxes without its consent, but no one thought that Parliament could govern the country. Therefore, if there was a difference of opinion between the king and the Parliament about a question of government, it was held that Parliament ought to yield.

Thus, when James insisted on having his own way, he was supported by most of his subjects. Indeed, as long as James lived, the mass of the people went generally with the king, for though he made mistakes, he meant well, and had the good of the nation at heart. Still, it was in his time that the disputes arose which at last led to the rebellion in the reign of Charles the First, and therefore, if we wish to know what that rebellion was about, we must begin with the reign of James.

From the very outset of his reign, James was inclined to oppose the wishes of the nation on several important points. The chief of these was the question of religion. James had been brought up as a Presbyterian, but he did not like the Presbyterian system, and even before he came to England he had tried to alter the Scottish Church, so as to make it more like the Church of England.

His chief reason was that among the Presbyterians there were no bishops, and religious affairs were settled by an Assembly of ministers and elders chosen by the church. Thus the Scottish Church practically governed itself, and the king had little to do with it. But in England the government of the church was in the hands of the bishops, and the bishops were appointed by the king. Thus in England the sovereign could control the church, and James felt this to be so important that he used to say, "No bishop, no king." By this he meant that if the bishops were abolished, the king's power would practically be ruined.

Now there were some Presbyterians in England who wanted to get rid of the bishops altogether, and there were many other persons who thought their authority too great, and who wished to diminish it. The Puritans in general hated anything that seemed like a relic of Popery, and so they wished to alter the vestments worn in the church services, and to make several other reforms. But James would have none of these changes, because he did not know where they would stop if they once began.

When he was on his way to London, a petition was pre-

sented to him, called the Millenary Petition, because it was signed by nearly a thousand ministers, who demanded reforms in the Church of England. Soon after his coronation, a meeting was held at Hampton Court (1604) between the bishops and some of the leading Puritans to discuss the question of reform. This was called the Hampton Court Conference. James himself presided at it, and took the part of the bishops.

It was decided at the conference to make a new translation of the Bible. This was finished in 1611, and is the one still in common use. But as no other reforms were made, the Puritans were much disappointed.

Unfortunately, James was not content with rejecting the demands for church reform, he supported the bishops when they punished the Puritans for not submitting to the rules and orders of the Church of England. Moreover, while he dealt hardly with the Puritans, he tried to make friends with the Roman Catholics by remitting some of the penalties inflicted on them by the laws of Elizabeth.

Some of the fiercer Papists, however, were not satisfied with this, and they tried to frighten the Protestants by plotting to blow up the Houses of Parliament (1605). Fortunately, the attempt, known as the Gunpowder Plot, was discovered in time, and only made the Protestants more angry.

James was alarmed, and for a while set his face against the Romanists. But he soon came round to his old views, and thus offended all the Protestants in the nation. People were the more annoyed, because other plots, called the Main Plot and the Bye Plot, had been discovered soon after James came to the throne, and the Romanists were supposed by many to have had a share in them.

Parliament soon began to take up the cause of the Puritans, for there were many Puritans in the House of Commons. The Commons attacked the bishops, and told the king plainly that he must not alter the religion of the country without the consent of Parliament. They had other reasons for being offended with James, but his religious policy was the original cause of their discontent.

3. James I. and the Parliament.

BESIDES the dispute about religion, Parliament had several other grounds of quarrel with the king. To begin with, James had not paid due attention to its privileges. One of its members, Sir Thomas Shirley, was arrested for debt and shut up in the Fleet prison while Parliament was sitting, and it cost the House of Commons a great deal of trouble to get him out.

There was also a dispute about the election for the county of Buckingham, which James undertook to settle in his own way, though the House of Commons itself had been accustomed to decide such questions. In both these disputes Parliament had the best of it, but they left a feeling of annoyance and distrust among the members.

Parliament also complained loudly about the High Commission Court—a body of bishops and other persons, appointed by the king—which was very active in persecuting the Puritans. The king, who did not like the Puritans, took the side of the bishops in this quarrel. He supported them against the Parliament, and thus became more unpopular.

Another serious grievance was the king's assumption of the right to issue proclamations having the force of law. These proclamations often interfered with the liberty of the subject. They made regulations about trade and other things which can only be made now by Act of Parliament, or by some authority to which Parliament has entrusted power. Sometimes the king's proclamations were good in themselves, but more often they were not.

One of the worst uses to which he put them was in the granting of "Monopolies"—that is, the sole right of making and selling various articles. Courtiers or tradesmen would buy these rights, paying the king large sums of money for them. There was a monopoly, for instance, of even such a common article as soap. The holders of these monopolies made large fortunes, because they could obtain any price they liked for their wares, but people did not like paying so much, and Parliament was angry with the king.

The question of taxation was still more important than those already mentioned. The king claimed the right of increasing the customs—that is, the taxes levied on goods brought into or carried out of the country in the way of trade. A regular sum was levied by law on every "ton" or cask of wine, and on every pound's worth of other goods. This was called "tonnage and poundage." The Tudor sovereigns had now and then levied additional taxes, called "impositions," on imported goods, and James followed their example.

In the year 1608 a merchant named Bate, trading with Turkey, refused to pay the additional tax levied on a cargo of currants. He was brought before the law courts, and the judges decided that he must pay. This was a very important decision, because, if the king's right to levy these additional duties were allowed, he would soon be able to raise a large revenue. Now, almost the only hold which the Parliament had over the king was the right of refusing to grant him taxes. If therefore the king could get a revenue without going to Parliament, he would become almost independent, and might govern as he liked.

In 1610 Parliament made a great effort to settle their quarrels with the king. They were willing to pay him a large sum of money, if he would give up his claim to "impositions," together with the troublesome feudal rights which he had inherited from his ancestors, the Norman and Angevin kings.

A great deal of land in England was still held by the old feudal tenures, and whenever a new tenant came in he had to pay heavy dues to the king. Moreover, the king could buy food for his court, and corn or hay for his stables, at his own prices, and he could force men having carts and horses to carry his furniture when he moved about. This was called the right of "purveyance," and it is easy to see how inconvenient it must have been.

A scheme for buying up those rights for a fixed sum of money, called the "Great Contract," was formed by Sir Robert Cecil, who was James's chief minister. Cecil was a son of the great Lord Burleigh, Elizabeth's chief adviser, and was a wise

statesman. At one time his plan seemed likely to succeed, for the king would have been very glad of the money. He was much more extravagant than Elizabeth, and was heavily in debt.

But at the last moment the House of Commons brought forward their religious grievances again, and tried to get the king to consent to various reforms. Both parties became irritated by these disputes, and so the whole scheme fell through and Parliament was dissolved. (We ought not to blame the king too much for this, for he had a legal right to what he claimed, and the Commons asked him to give up a great deal.) But it was very unfortunate that they could not agree, for these disputes led afterwards to a grievous quarrel.

In 1612 Sir Robert Cecil died, and a few months later Prince Henry, the king's eldest son, a young man of great promise, and much beloved by the nation, followed him to the grave. James now began to fall under the influence of favourites. His first was a Scot, named Robert Carr, whom he created Viscount Rochester, and afterwards Earl of Somerset.

Carr was greedy and dishonest, and made use of the king's favour to enrich himself. He married into the great family of the Howards, and he and they held between them many of the chief offices of state. But by his arrogance and selfishness Somerset made many enemies, and they plotted to overthrow him. They pitched upon a young courtier, named George Villiers, as the right sort of person to please the king. Villiers, who was handsome, lively, and clever, became the king's cupbearer, and soon supplanted Somerset in James's favour.

The final downfall of Somerset was caused (1616) by the discovery that he and his wife had brought about the murder of one Sir Thomas Overbury, who had thwarted Lady Somerset's schemes. From this time forward Villiers became the most powerful person in England, for he not only stood first with the king, but also gained great influence over Prince Charles, the heir to the throne.

4. Beginning of the Thirty Years' War—1614-1629.

After the failure of the "Great Contract" in 1610, James was not anxious to summon another Parliament. But though he tried to cut down his expenses, they were constantly on the increase, so he was obliged to call his second Parliament in 1614.

This Parliament proved as unmanageable as the last James asked for money, but Parliament refused to grant it unless he gave up his right to levy "impositions." This he would not do, and Parliament was again dissolved. It was called the "Addled Parliament," because it did not hatch out a single statute.

After this no Parliament met for seven years. The king's expenses kept increasing, but his revenue increased too, for trade was improving, and therefore the customs brought in more and more every year. James had made peace with Spain in 1605, so that there was no need to ask Parliament for special grants. There was no standing army to be paid for, and very little was spent on the fleet, which was allowed to fall into decay.

But in 1618 a war broke out in Germany which put James into great difficulties, and forced him to appeal to the nation again. In order to understand how this happened, we must look a little into the state of Europe at this time.

The Reformation, which had begun about a hundred years before, had produced a great division among the European nations. The north of Europe became Protestant, while the south remained Roman Catholic. In France, after some terrible wars which lasted almost all through Elizabeth's reign, the Romanists had won, though the Huguenots (as the French Protestants were called) were still strong in many parts. The German states were divided—the great princes of northern Germany had adopted the religion of Luther or of Calvin, while

216 Beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

the southern princes and the Emperor were faithful to the Pope

James tried to remain on good terms with both parties. He married his daughter Elizabeth (1613) to Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, the head of the Protestant party in Germany. On the other hand, he treated with Spain, the chief Roman Catholic power, for a marriage between his son Charles and a Spanish princess.

In the year 1617 Ferdinand, a member of the great house of Hapsburg, and a bigoted Roman Catholic, became king of Bohemia, an important German state. He at once began to persecute the Bohemian Protestants, who rebelled against him in 1618. Next year Ferdinand was elected Emperor, but the Bohemians deposed him from the throne of Bohemia, and elected Frederick, Count Palatine, in his place.

Now it was against the laws of the Empire that Frederick, who already governed the Palatinate, a large district on the Rhine, should hold the crown of Bohemia as well. Moreover, had Bohemia gone over to the Protestants, it would have quite upset the balance of power in Germany, by giving the Protestants the upper hand.

The Romanists therefore took up arms, and thus a struggle began, known as the "Thirty Years' War," which was one of the greatest wars ever waged in Europe. At first it went much against the Protestants. Spain joined the Emperor, and Frederick was soon driven, not only out of his new kingdom of Bohemia (1620), but from his own principality, the Palatinate, as well.

Naturally, he begged his father-in-law, King James, to help him. James tried hard to persuade Spain and the Emperor to restore the Palatinate to Frederick, but these powers, knowing that he had no force to back his words, refused to give up their conquest.

Meanwhile, the Protestants in England and Scotland were much excited by these events, and were anxious to fight for the Count Palatine, whom they regarded as the champion of the Protestant cause. James soon perceived that he could

do nothing for his son-in-law without the support of the nation, and this support could only be given through the Parliament. He therefore resolved at length to call another Parliament, which met in 1621.

At first they began very amicably, and James allowed them to attack the monopolies, and to examine into the conduct of his ministers, some of whom were very corrupt. The chief person whom they attacked was the famous Lord Bacon, who was then chancellor. He was a great writer and philosopher, but a corrupt judge. He was impeached—that is, brought to trial before the House of Lords—for taking bribes, was deprived of office, and heavily fined.

It was a great increase in the power of the Commons when they could thus impeach and overthrow the king's ministers. But when it came to the question of foreign policy, they and the king could not agree. The Commons were eager for war with Spain, but James would not hear of it, as he wished to remain on good terms with that country.

They continued to demand war, and James angrily forbade them to discuss foreign affairs. They replied by drawing up a famous protest, in which they declared that "freedom of speech was the birthright of every Englishman." James sent for the journals of the House, tore out the protest with his own hand, and dissolved the Parliament (1621). He afterwards imprisoned several members who had led the opposition against him.

Unable to gain the support of his own subjects, James tried to win over Spain. He revived the plan of a marriage between Prince Charles and a Spanish princess, and offered, if the marriage took place, to relax the laws against Romanists.

To further the match, Prince Charles and the favourite Villiers, who was now Duke of Buckingham, went in person to Madrid (1623). But though they were ready to promise almost anything, they could not persuade the Spanish king to break with the Emperor, or to give up the Palatinate. They came back to England very angry, and persuaded James to declare war against Spain.

A Parliament was called in 1624, and James, now old and

feeble, allowed it to settle how the war was to be carried on. This was a great triumph for Parliament, for foreign policy had hitherto been managed entirely by the king. Thus we see how a war abroad, in which religion was the chief motive, led to a great change in the government of this country.

5. The Misgovernment of Charles and Buckingham—1625-1628.

IN 1625 James the First died, and was succeeded by his son Charles. It was, on the whole, a bad exchange. Charles was in some respects a better man than his father, but he was a worse king. He was pious, virtuous, and brave, a good husband and a kind father. But he was more obstinate than James in defence of what he thought to be the rights of the crown, to maintain which he believed he was justified in doing anything.

Thus he was led into acts of violence and dishonesty which made every one distrust him. Moreover, though his temper was so obstinate, he was neither clever nor self-dependent. He never understood what was going on around him, and he was always under the influence of some stronger mind, to which he looked for advice and encouragement.

At first his adviser was George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. So great was Buckingham's influence that he may be said to have governed the country during the first three years and a half of Charles's reign. It is on him that we must lay the chief blame for the quarrel between Parliament and the king.

At the time of Charles's accession, the nation was in an excited and anxious state. The Thirty Years' War on the Continent had now been going on for seven years, and the Protestants had so far got the worst of it. By far the greater number of Charles's subjects in England and Scotland were

Protestants, and they wished that everything should be done that was possible to help the Protestant cause

But they already felt that they could not trust the king. We have seen how ready he was to make promises to the Roman Catholics, in order to bring about his marriage with a Spanish princess. The Spanish match had come to nothing, but soon after his accession Charles married Henrietta Maria, sister of the French king, Louis the Thirteenth.

France was now governed by a famous minister, Richelieu, who hated Spain, and therefore was anxious to help the Protestants in Germany in their war with Spain and the Emperor. But the people of England did not understand Richelieu's plans. They only saw that the new queen was a Papist, and they were afraid she would lead her husband astray.

When, therefore, Charles's first Parliament met in June 1625, it was not in a friendly temper, and was resolved to keep a tight hand on the king. It complained of the favour shown to Romanists, and of the rewards given to English clergymen who wrote books tending towards Romanism. As Charles paid no attention to these complaints, the House of Commons voted very meagre supplies, and refused to grant tonnage and poundage for more than a year, though these had previously been granted at the beginning of each reign for the king's life. Parliament was therefore dissolved.

Charles and Buckingham now tried to recover popularity by dealing a great stroke at Spain. They borrowed as much money as they could, and fitted out a large fleet. The fleet had orders to attack the Spanish port of Cadiz, and to capture the Spanish treasure-ships on their way back from the West Indies. But the attack on Cadiz failed, the Spanish treasure-ships escaped, and the English fleet returned with heavy losses.

This was not likely to put Charles's subjects into a better temper, and they were still further irritated by finding that some ships which Charles had lent to the French Government had been used to put down the rebellion of the Huguenots, or French Protestants, at La Rochelle. This seemed very like an attack on the Protestant religion abroad.

Thus Charles's second Parliament, which met in February 1626, was even more hostile than the first. The House of Commons at once began to inquire into the causes of the bad government from which the country was suffering, and it laid the blame on the Duke of Buckingham. It drew up a long list of charges against the duke, and formally impeached him before the House of Lords.

Charles was very angry at this attack upon his favourite, for it was really an attack upon himself. He threatened the Commons, and imprisoned Sir John Eliot, the leader of the House. But the Commons persisted, and the king, becoming alarmed, released Eliot. The Lords, who were the judges in a case of impeachment, were by no means friendly to Buckingham. They were also irritated with the king, who had violated their privileges by wrongfully imprisoning the Earl of Arundel, an enemy of the duke.

Determined to save Buckingham, Charles dissolved Parliament. Having quarrelled a second time with the representatives of the nation, he resolved, if possible, not to summon them in future. No Parliament met for nearly two years.

In order to get money during that time, the government raked up old rights of the crown, which had long been forgotten, pressed men to become soldiers, and "billed" them out—that is, forced private persons to give them board and lodging, and, finally, ordered all the richer people to lend money to the king. This was known as the "Forced Loan". As it was really taxation without vote of Parliament, many gentlemen refused to lend the money. For this refusal several were imprisoned by order of the crown.

Five of the prisoners demanded their release, on the ground that no legal cause for their imprisonment had been shown, but the judges decided that the king, being the head of the state, might send people to prison without giving his reasons, and therefore refused to let them out. This case was known as "Darnel's case," or that of the "Five Knights." The decision was a very important one, for it practically enabled the king to force people to do whatever he liked.

Meanwhile the war with Spain dragged on, and, as if this was not enough, Charles also quarrelled with France. He thought he would gain popularity by helping the Huguenots against the French Government, and therefore sent an expedition (1627) to raise the siege of La Rochelle.

The English fleet tried to seize the island of Rhé, close to the French coast, but they could not drive the French out, and finally had to retire with great loss. Much money and many lives were thrown away, and the nation bitterly felt the disgrace. The king's treasury was now quite empty, and he was obliged to summon his third Parliament, in March 1628.

6. The Petition of Right and the Breach with Parliament—1628-1634.

WHEN Parliament met in March 1628, Charles had reigned for three years. His government had led to nothing but discord at home and disaster abroad. In his attempt to rule without Parliament he had broken, or at all events had strained, the law, and the decision of the judges in the case of the "Five Knights" seemed to show that no rights were safe against the crown.

The Duke of Buckingham was more unpopular than ever, but the House of Commons did not begin by attacking him again. It resolved, first of all, to lay down the law against unparliamentary taxation and illegal imprisonment. This it did in a famous document, which was called the "Petition of Right," because it demanded only what Parliament held to be its ancient rights.

The Petition demanded, first, that no man should be obliged to lend money or pay taxes to the king without consent of Parliament, second, that no one should be thrown into prison or kept in custody without legal cause, third, that soldiers should not be "billed" on the people against

their will, and fourth, that martial law (that is, the rules by which discipline is maintained in armies) should not be enforced within the realm.

The king for some time tried to avoid consenting to these demands, but at last, seeing that Parliament stood firm, he gave his consent in the ancient form, "Let right be done as is desired," and thus the Petition became law (June 1628). Having gained this great triumph, Parliament at once granted the king a large supply of money. But, unfortunately, the quarrel did not end here.

The Commons feared that, so long as Buckingham stood at the king's elbow, the Petition would not be observed. They therefore renewed their attack upon the duke, and drew up a long complaint against him, which they called a "Remonstrance." The king paid no attention to this, so they framed another Remonstrance against the collection of tonnage and poundage without a vote of Parliament. To put a stop to these protests, the king "prorogued" Parliament—that is, broke off its sittings for six months.

Before Parliament met again, Buckingham had perished. The government had resolved on sending out another expedition to help the Huguenots in France. Buckingham went down to Portsmouth to look after the preparations, and while there he was stabbed to the heart by one Felton, an officer in the army, who probably had a private grudge against him.

The sudden and tragic death of the great minister removed the chief cause of the quarrel between Charles and his Parliament, and it might have been hoped that they would now be reconciled. But Charles continued to govern as before, and the quarrel only grew worse. When Parliament met again, in January 1629, a dispute about the Petition of Right at once began.

The king declared that, as tonnage and poundage were not actually mentioned in the Petition, he could levy them without vote of Parliament. The House of Commons maintained that he could not. It also complained bitterly of the favour shown to the "High Church" clergy, who were thought



Charles I and Speaker Lenthall BY C W Cope, R.A. In the Houses of Parliament [The King's attempt to arrest the "Five members".

to be preparing the way, by their writings and sermons, for a return to Popery. At last the king lost patience, and sent orders to the Speaker to "adjourn" the House—that is, to interrupt its sittings.

Fearing that they would not be allowed to meet again, some of the members held the Speaker down in his chair, to prevent his carrying out the king's order, while a strong protest was drawn up against the government. (The protest declared that any one who tried to change the religion of the country, or to levy tonnage and poundage without the consent of Parliament, was an enemy to the state. Having passed this protest, the members left the House. Charles at once dissolved Parliament, vowing that so long as he lived it should never darken his doors again.)

He kept his word for eleven years. From March 1629 to April 1640 no Parliament met in England. During this period the government was not generally harsh or unjust, and the country was quiet and even prosperous. Trade and industry improved, justice was done between man and man, and those who cared for nothing but getting rich and living idle lives were satisfied.

But in reality the government was a tyranny. The monarchy was absolute—that is, the king ruled without any restraint, and the ancient constitution of the country was, for the time, abolished. The people, who hitherto had had a voice in the government through their representatives in Parliament, now lost all control over affairs.

The laws about religion and divine service were strictly maintained, and those Puritans who resisted the authority of the church were cruelly punished. A clergyman named Leighton, who wrote a book against the bishops, was flogged, fined, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. A learned lawyer named Prynne published a work against the stage, in which he was supposed to have attacked the queen, who was fond of acting in the plays performed at court. He had his ears cut off, and was fined, and sent to prison for life. Bastwick, Burton, and other Puritans, suffered in similar ways.

But the great difficulty which the government had to face was the want of money. Soon after the dissolution of Parliament in 1629, peace was made with France and Spain, in order to reduce the expenses of the country as far as possible. The old claims of the crown over forest lands were revived, and many people were heavily fined for having it was said, encroached on the royal forests.

Feudal rights, which had not been used for many generations, were refurbished up anew, and enforced by the king's courts. Monopolies, which had been given up by Elizabeth in 1601, and declared illegal by the Parliament of 1624, were sold to the highest bidders, and thus the price of many common articles was raised. Heavy fines were exacted by the Star Chamber for all sorts of slight offences.

Still, these expedients, odious as they were to the nation, only brought in enough to pay for the king's ordinary expenses. They could not provide a fleet or an army, and so long as these were not at hand the government did not feel secure against invasion from abroad or rebellion at home.

7. The Ship-Money Trial, and the Scottish Rebellion—1634-1640.

In his attempt to rule without Parliament, the king was supported principally by two men, the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud. Thomas Wentworth, who became Earl of Strafford in 1640, had been a leader of the Commons early in Charles's reign and had helped greatly in passing the Petition of Right. But after that success he seems to have thought that Parliament was going too far, and he went over to the side of the king. For this he was called a traitor, but it is more likely that he honestly believed Charles to be in the right.

He was a man of proud, determined temper, fierce in



The Earl of Strafford on his Way to Execution By Paul Delaroche (By permission of the Duke of Sutherland) [Strafford in prison at the tall stairs in the window of the Archibishop's cell]

countenance, but a very able statesman. From 1628 he governed the north of England, and in 1633 he became Lord Deputy (or Governor) of Ireland. But though he was absent from England, the king continued to act on his advice.

William Laud was the king's chief adviser in all church matters, and was a great friend of Strafford. He became Bishop of London in 1628, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. He was a small, rather insignificant-looking man, but very obstinate, and he was convinced that by strictly enforcing the laws against the Puritans he could destroy dissent, and bring about uniformity in the church.

Both these men were devoted to the monarchy, and they called their policy "Thorough," because they were determined to "go through" with it whatever happened. But to carry out their plans it was necessary that the king should have more money.

A lawyer named Noy found out that in old days the seaports were obliged to provide ships for the defence of the country. Accordingly, in 1634, writs (or royal letters) were issued, ordering the seaside places to provide money for ships. There was something to be said for this, but next year (1635) the "ship-money," as it was called, was levied on the inland counties as well. A third writ was issued in 1636. On this occasion John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, refused to pay the tax because it had not been voted by Parliament.

His case was brought before all the twelve judges, and a long trial took place (1637-38), in which both sides argued with great learning and skill. Some of the judges were in favour of Hampden, but the majority of them decided for the king, because, they said, he was sovereign, and therefore he alone could settle whether a tax should be voted by Parliament or not. The king and his supporters were much encouraged by this decision, which seemed to give them a complete victory over the supporters of the Parliament.

But just at this moment a rising began in Scotland, which quite upset their calculations. To understand this we

must go back a little, and see what James and Charles had been doing in their own kingdom north of the Tweed

When the Presbyterians got the upper hand in Scotland, after the expulsion of Queen Mary, they had put down the bishops. The Scottish "Kirk," as it was called, was governed by a General Assembly of ministers and elders. But James the First was no sooner established on the throne of England than he set to work to restore Episcopacy in Scotland

He set up the bishops again, and got the Scottish Estates or Parliament (1612) to allow them some of their old powers. He also persuaded the General Assembly (1618) to alter their form of worship so as to make it more like that of the English Church. Charles the First continued this work.

When he went to Scotland in 1633 he established a new bishop's see in Edinburgh, and appointed some bishops as members of the Privy Council. Two years later (1635) he published in Scotland a book of canons, or rules for church government, which practically put an end to the General Assembly, and made the bishops as powerful in Scotland as they were in England. Finally, in 1637, he ordered a new Prayer Book, which Laud had drawn up on the model of the English Prayer Book, to be used in all Scottish churches.

This was too much for the Scots, who had hitherto borne these changes with great patience. When the clergyman began to read the new Prayer Book in St Giles's Church, the chief church in Edinburgh, a riot broke out, which was followed by tumults in other places. The people bound themselves (1638) in a solemn "Covenant" to defend their religion, and the nobles and gentry took the lead in the movement.

They sent envoys to the king, who, after some hesitation, gave way so far as to allow a General Assembly of the "Kirk" to meet at Glasgow (November 1638). This Assembly at once began to attack the bishops, whereupon the Duke of Hamilton, who presided over it in the king's name, ordered it to dissolve. The Assembly refused to separate, and resolved that Episcopacy should be abolished. This was a plain defiance of the king, who declared the Scots to be rebels, and prepared for war.

The Scots were not behindhand, and very soon two armies faced each other on the Border (1639). The king went to Berwick, and the Scots pitched their camp on Duns Law, a hill a few miles away. But no fighting took place, because the king's army was a bad one, hastily got together, while the Scots were well armed and equipped, and full of religious ardour.

Charles gave way, and made a treaty with the Scots at Berwick. In accordance with this treaty he summoned a Scottish Parliament to meet at Edinburgh, in order to consider the questions in dispute. But this Parliament was just as anxious to get rid of the bishops as the Glasgow Assembly had been, and it approved what the Assembly had done.

Thus Charles had gained nothing by the treaty of Berwick, on the contrary, he was worse off than before. By this time his treasury was exhausted, and without money he could not force the Scots to yield. There was nothing left but to summon an English Parliament, which accordingly met, after an interval of eleven years, in April 1640.

Charles hoped that the English, out of their ancient hostility to Scotland, would help him in the war. But this hostile feeling had disappeared, for the English knew that in their struggle with the king the Scots were their best allies. They refused to vote any supplies, and in his anger Charles dissolved Parliament without coming to any agreement at all. This Parliament is known as the "Short Parliament."

8. The Long Parliament—1640-1641.

THE "Short Parliament," although it sat only for three weeks (April to May 1640), was a sign that the policy of "Thorough" had broken down. Charles would never have called a Parliament if he could have avoided it, but the Scottish rebellion compelled him to do so. Disappointed in his hopes of getting help from his English subjects, he made one more effort to coerce the Scots by force of arms.

Another army was, with great difficulty, gathered together at York. But the soldiers were badly drilled and disciplined. They had no heart to fight, and were mutinous from want of pay. The Scots, on the contrary, were full of military and religious ardour. They marched into England, beat some of the royal forces at Newburn, and occupied the northern counties. They were evidently more than a match for the king's army, and Charles, finding it impossible to continue the war, reluctantly gave way.

A truce was made with the Scots at Ripon (October 1640), by which it was arranged that their army should stay in England, receiving £25,000 a month, till the dispute about the Scottish Church could be settled. The king had already determined to call an English Parliament. The great assembly known afterwards as the "Long Parliament," the most famous Parliament that ever sat in England, came together accordingly on November 3, 1640.

The first session of the Long Parliament lasted till September 1641. At first almost all the members were against the king and his ministers, or at least were determined to insist on large reforms in the system of government. But they had no intention whatever of making war on Charles, or of overthrowing the monarchy.

The leader of the House of Commons was John Pym, whom a historian of the time calls "an ancient gentleman of much experience in Parliamentary affairs." He had indeed sat in all the Parliaments since 1621. Pym had a great belief in Parliament, regarding it as the soul or spirit of the nation, without which, as he said, "the whole body was rotten." In other words, he thought that a state without a Parliament was as good as dead, and that all sorts of abuses and evil things would spring up in it unchecked, as they had done during the last eleven years.

According to Pym, the first thing necessary to put an end to the king's bad government was to punish those who had advised him to rule without Parliament. The House of Commons therefore impeached Strafford and Laud, and

several other persons. Strafford had intended to turn the tables by accusing Pym and other members of traitorous dealings with the rebellious Scots. But the Parliamentary leaders were too quick for him, and before he had time to carry out his plan he was impeached and thrown into prison.

Then the House set to work to draw up a long list of charges against him, and in March 1641 his formal trial before the House of Lords began. Westminster Hall, where the trial took place, was packed with people, including all the highest and noblest in the land. The Lords in their robes sat as judges, the leaders of the Commons pressed the charge of treason against the accused, and the king himself watched the trial, half-hidden in a private box.

Strafford, though ill, and, till the last moment, ignorant of the charges to be made against him, defended himself with great courage and ability. The Commons tried hard to convict him of treason, but this they found impossible, because all that Strafford had done had been done, not against the king, but on the king's behalf, or under his orders. So they gave up the impeachment, and brought in a Bill of Attainder—that is, a law to put Strafford to death as an enemy of his country.

This may at first seem to us a cruel and unjust measure, for Strafford had not committed treason against the king, nor done anything which the ordinary law declared worthy of death. But he was guilty of a worse crime than treason to the king—that, namely, of having tried to destroy the liberty of the state, and for that he had to suffer death. So the law was passed by both Houses of Parliament, and after a long struggle the king was compelled to give his assent. "Put not your trust in princes," was all that Strafford said when he heard that the king had yielded, and he died bravely on the scaffold, May 12, 1641.

Strafford's death was a most important event, for it showed that no one could safely support the king in his despotic ways. But the Parliament had much to do besides punishing the king's minister. It had to make laws to prevent the king from attempting to rule without Parliament in future.

With this end in view, it passed statutes upsetting the decision of the judges in Hampden's case, and declaring that neither ship-money nor tonnage and poundage could in future be levied without its consent. It abolished the tyrannical law courts which had been established in the Tudor times, and had become supports of tyranny under the Stuarts—the Star Chamber, the High Commission, the Council of the North, and others. It passed a statute enacting that Parliament must meet at least once every three years, and another statute that this particular Parliament could not be dissolved without its own consent.

Thus in less than a year Parliament made a complete change in the system of government. When, in September 1641, it adjourned for a short holiday, the monarchy, from being absolute, had become a limited or constitutional monarchy. The nation at large was well pleased with this triumph, and, while still anxious for church reform, thought that enough had been done to restrain the king.

In August, Charles had gone to Scotland, and, by yielding almost all that the Scots demanded, had put an end to the rebellious feeling there. Thus, after a time of great anxiety and disturbance, the peace of the country seemed secured, when an event took place which threw everything into confusion again. This was the Irish rebellion, which broke out in October 1641.

9. The Irish Rebellion and its Results—1641-1642.

EVEN after the death of Strafford, and after all the changes that had been made in the laws, Pym and his friends in Parliament did not feel safe, for they could not trust the king. They believed that he was only biding his time, and that he would take the first opportunity of recovering the power which he had lost. In the summer of 1641 there were many rumours of plots against the Parliament.

While the trial of Strafford was going on, the queen and some of her friends at court tried to persuade the army to overthrow the Parliament by force, but they could not win over the soldiers to their side. Then, while the king was in Scotland, strange stories were told of an attempt to kidnap the leaders of the reforming party. And now, in October, just after Parliament had met again, the country was agitated by terrible news from Ireland.

The Irish rebellions of Elizabeth's reign had left large parts of Ireland desolate. The English Government sought to strengthen itself by planting colonies of Englishmen and Scotsmen in the country, especially on the vast estates of the chiefs whose property had been declared "forfeited" on account of their rebellions. A great part of Ulster was colonized in this way during the reign of James the First.

Naturally, this seemed mere robbery to the Irish inhabitants. For many years they were too feeble and exhausted to rebel again, but they would not acknowledge that the new settlers had any right to the land. Religious persecution was another great cause of discontent in Ireland, for the Irish were Roman Catholics, and the English government did what it could to uproot their religion.

Strafford, who governed Ireland from 1633 to 1640, was a good ruler in his way—that is, he kept order and encouraged trade—and Ireland under him seemed fairly prosperous. But he did nothing—for indeed this was impossible at the time—to put an end to the quarrels about religion and the land. Thus the Irish had plenty of reasons for rebelling. Their opportunity seemed to have arrived when Strafford perished on the scaffold, when the king had lost much of his power, and when the English army which was raised to fight the Scots had been disbanded.

The rebellion began in Ulster (October 1641), but soon spread further. The English settlers, taken by surprise, were slaughtered or driven out. The Irish took a terrible revenge for all they had suffered, and the reports of their ferocious deeds spread panic and anxiety through the country.

The thing that most alarmed Parliament was that the rebels called themselves the king's army, and pretended to be acting on his behalf. How much Charles was to blame for the rebellion we cannot tell, but there seems to be no doubt that he had been trying to get assistance in Ireland against the Parliament, and that this was partly the cause of the rebellion. At all events this terrible affair much increased the distrust of Charles that was already felt, and forced the Parliamentary leaders to take further measures against him.

The great difficulty was how to put down the Irish without making the king too powerful. An army was wanted in order to suppress the rebellion, but according to the law of the land, the army was entirely in the king's control. If, then, Parliament raised an army and entrusted it to officers appointed by the king, he might first of all conquer or make terms with the Irish, and then turn upon the Parliament and overthrow it.

In this difficulty the Parliamentary leaders resolved to begin by appealing to the nation, and endeavouring to stir up public feeling. They drew up a long paper called the "Grand Remonstrance," in which they first set forth the king's misdeeds and their own good actions, and then explained what they still thought necessary in order to secure good government.

They declared that they had no confidence in the councillors who were about the king, and demanded that he should in future appoint to posts in the government only such persons as the Parliament could trust. This meant, of course, that he should no longer choose his own ministers, but that Parliament should choose them for him.

They also demanded that the king should give his assent to a Bill, called the "Bishops' Exclusion Bill," which the Commons had passed shortly before. This Bill proposed to take away from the bishops their seats in the House of Lords, and to prevent them from exercising any civil authority. Such a change would have been a great blow, not only at the church, but also at the king's power.

So fierce was the debate in the House of Commons about the "Remonstrance," that one who was present said it seemed

to him "that they all sat in the valley of the shadow of death" But at last the "Remonstrance" was passed, by a very small majority (November 22, 1641) It was immediately printed and published far and wide through the country

The next step taken by the Parliamentary leaders was to introduce a Bill (December 1641) which placed the supreme command of the forces, both by sea and land, in the hands of officers to be named by Parliament This was a very revolutionary measure, and went far beyond the laws passed in the first session of the Long Parliament It was not likely that Charles would grant all these demands without a struggle

The publication of the "Remonstrance" was followed in London by street fights between the king's friends and the supporters of Parliament To put a stop to the agitation, the king resolved on dealing a great stroke at the Parliamentary leaders On January 4, 1642, he suddenly came to the House of Commons with a body of soldiers, in order to seize Pym, Hampden, and three other members, on the charge of high treason

Fortunately, Pym and his friends had heard of the plot in time, and escaped into the City of London Charles entered the House, and, looking round, remarked that "the birds were flown" Then, foiled in his attempt, he left the House, followed by shouts of "Privilege, privilege!" from the members This violent and illegal action of the king did more than anything else to bring on civil war

10. The First Civil War.

1642-1644.

THE attempted arrest of the five members in January 1642 was fatal to Charles's cause He had been urged on to it by the queen, who, since Strafford's death, had gained great influence over him "Go and pull the rogues out by their ears," she said to him, and he obeyed her, against his better



Charles I on the Eve of the Battle of Edgehill. By Charles Hindseer, F.A.

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Charles Prince of Wales 2. James, Duke of York 3. Prince Rupert 4 King Charles

judgment Having failed in his attempt, he seems to have felt that nothing was left but war, and he left London on January 10, 1642

The spring and summer of 1642 were occupied with fruitless negotiations, and with preparations for war Each side tried to cast on the shoulders of the other the blame of causing the war The Parliament pressed its three requirements touching the army, the king's ministers, and the bishops Several other demands were made, but these were the most important

In February 1642 the king assented to the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords, but Parliament would no longer rest satisfied with this. The majority were already determined to sweep away the bishops "root and branch," as the phrase was On the other two points the king refused to yield at all When urged to give up the command of the militia to Parliament for a short time, he replied, "Not for one hour"

It is difficult to say which of the Parliamentary demands was the most important But it should be clearly understood that the old disputes about taxation and the law courts had quite dropped out of sight What men disputed about now was something quite different The question was simply this whether the Parliament or the king should govern the country Apart from church reform, the Parliament, in demanding the right to appoint the king's councillors and the officers of the army, claimed sovereign power, and this was the immediate cause of the war

All through the country there were grievous searchings of heart, men taking sides with great reluctance, brothers sometimes against brothers, in the conflict which was seen to be approaching Many who sided with the king did so out of loyalty to the crown, though they had little heart in the cause Sir Edmund Verney, the king's standard-bearer, said to Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon) that he could not but give his life for the king, "whose bread he had eaten for thirty years," but that "he had no reverence for the bishops, for whom this quarrel subsists"

At length, after all negotiations had failed, and both parties had collected their forces, the king set up his standard at Nottingham (August 22, 1642), and the war began. The weather was stormy at the time, and it was noticed as a bad omen that the standard was blown down during the following night.

The country was almost equally divided between the two parties. The east and south-east of England, together with London and most of the large towns, were for the Parliament, while the north and west were for the king. Charles's supporters had already got the name of "Cavaliers," from their gay dresses and long hair. The supporters of the Parliament were nicknamed "Roundheads," because most of the poorer classes, who sided with it, had their hair cropped short. Most of the nobility, and all the high churchmen, were on the king's side, but many of the country gentry, and the commercial classes generally, sided with the Parliament.

The first serious battle of the war was fought at Edgehill, near Banbury (October 23, 1642). Prince Rupert, the king's nephew, charged and routed the opposing cavalry, but the Parliamentary infantry stood firm, and prevented the king from gaining a decisive victory. Soon afterwards Charles marched on London, and reached Brentford, but the London militia turned out, and he had to retreat.

During the winter the two sides were inactive, but in the summer of the year 1643 the fighting was serious and widely spread. It went on at once in the Thames valley, in Yorkshire, in the eastern counties, and in the south-west. In almost all these districts the royal troops had the upper hand.

John Hampden, one of the best of the Parliamentary leaders, was killed at Chalgrove Field, near Oxford (June 1643). Fairfax was beaten by the Royalists under Newcastle at Atherton Moor, in Lancashire, and driven into Hull (July). At Roundway Down, near Devizes, the Royalists won a complete victory over Waller, and Prince Rupert took Bristol. The only gleam of success for the Parliamentary side was in the east, where Oliver Cromwell won the battle of Gainsborough.

In August the king laid siege to Gloucester. If that city had fallen, the Parliament would probably have had to give way. But their general, Lord Essex, succeeded in marching



an army to its relief, and the siege was raised. On his way back to London, Essex was attacked by the king at Newbury, near Reading. An indecisive battle was fought, and Essex made good his retreat. A little later (October) Cromwell won

a battle at Winceby, in Lincolnshire, and raised the siege of Hull

But though these successes saved the Parliament from utter defeat, the balance in the war had gone so much against them that they felt they could not continue the struggle without allies. Moreover, the Scots were becoming anxious, for they knew that if the king beat the Parliament he would probably turn against them too. Accordingly, an alliance called the "Solemn League and Covenant" was made between the English Parliament and the Presbyterian party in Scotland (September 1643).

In accordance with this treaty, a Scottish army, under General Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, marched into England early in 1644, and joined the Parliamentary troops under Fairfax and Cromwell. Their combined forces utterly defeated the Royalists under Newcastle and Prince Rupert in a great battle at Marston Moor in Yorkshire (July 1644). The victory, which was mainly due to Cromwell's charges at the head of the cavalry, was a great one, but it did not overthrow the king.

To balance the Scots, Charles made a truce with the Irish rebels, and brought over some Irish troops into England, while the Marquis of Montrose headed a Royalist rising in Scotland. The Irish troops were soon beaten and dispersed, but Montrose won a battle at Tippermuir, and captured Perth. This made the Scots in England afraid to go far from their own homes. Elsewhere, too, the war was not going well for the Parliament.

A Parliamentary army, under Essex, was cut to pieces in Cornwall (August), and a little later a second indecisive battle was fought at Newbury (October). It was the slackness or incapacity of the Parliamentary leaders, Manchester and Waller, that prevented this battle from being a victory for the Parliament. Then failure led to a great and decisive change in the conduct of the war.

III. The Rise of Oliver Cromwell.

1644-1648.

OLIVER CROMWELL, who now for the first time came to the front, was a Huntingdonshire gentleman, born of a good family, and well connected. He sat as member for Cambridge in the Long Parliament, but did not take a prominent part in the debates. When the war began, he went into the eastern counties, and soon formed a body of excellent soldiers, mostly religious men, who were ready to follow him anywhere. He was a big, strong man, with rather heavy features, careless in his dress, and not a good speaker, but he had deep religious convictions and great political ability, and he was a born leader of men.

He belonged to a religious sect, hitherto of no great importance, the Independents. They were so called because they did not like either the Anglican or the Presbyterian system of church government, but believed that every congregation of religious men should be allowed to worship God in their own fashion. They were the first people in England who upheld toleration in matters of religion.

Now Cromwell saw that, with the army and the generals that the Parliament had, it would never be able to beat the king. He and his friends therefore brought forward a proposal that all members of Parliament holding commissions in the army should give up their military commands, leaving the conduct of the war to men who were soldiers and nothing else. This was called the "Self-Denying Ordinance," because the members of Parliament affected by it were called upon to strip themselves of the honour and money they got by being military officers.

While this plan was under discussion, Parliament was trying to come to an agreement with the king. Terms of peace were debated in a meeting at Uxbridge, in Middlesex. But since their alliance with the Scots, the Parliamentary

leaders were more determined than ever to abolish the bishops, and to this Charles refused his consent. Peace was therefore impossible.

Since the war was to go on, it became more desirable than ever to pass the "Self-Denying Ordinance". It was also proposed to reform the army, by weeding out the bad troops, and forming a small and well-disciplined force, drilled and equipped on the plan adopted by Cromwell for his own men. This proposal was called the "New Model". There was much debate over the Ordinance and the New Model, but at length both were passed by the Parliament.

The Earls of Essex and Manchester, and other members of Parliament, consequently gave up their commands. Cromwell alone was allowed to retain his post in the army, because he was the one general who had proved successful in the war. This was a great advantage for Cromwell, as we shall see by-and-by.

The "New Model" army, under Fairfax and Cromwell, soon put an end to the war. On June 14, 1645, a decisive battle was fought at Naseby, on the borders of Leicestershire, in which the king's forces were utterly routed. Soon afterwards, in September, Montrose, who had fought gallantly for the king in Scotland, and had won several victories, was completely beaten by the Scottish general, David Leslie, at Philiphaugh, in Selkirkshire. Thenceforward the war went hopelessly against the Royalists.

The Parliamentary forces marched over the country, beating the king's supporters wherever they met them, and compelling fortress after fortress to surrender. In May 1646 Charles, finding it impossible to continue the struggle, gave himself up to the Scottish army, then encamped at Newark, in Nottinghamshire. In the following June, Oxford, the chief Royalist stronghold, surrendered to Fairfax, and with this the war was practically over.

But Charles, though beaten, was still king, and his conquerors did not know what to do with him. They found it as difficult to come to terms with him now as they had found



Charles I leaving Westminster Hall after his Trial By Sir John Gilbert, R.A. (By permission of the Corporation of Sheffield.)

In the Maypan Art Gallery, Sheffield

it before the war began. This was chiefly because they all wanted different things.

When the English Parliament adopted the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643, they promised to establish the Presbyterian system in England. They therefore demanded that the king should throw over the English Church altogether, and adopt Presbyterianism. But what they really cared about much more than this was that Charles should give them control of the army.

The Scots, on their side, did not care much what happened to the English army, but they wished that the king should "take the Covenant," and establish Presbyterianism. Lastly, the English army, which now consisted mostly of Independents and of other religious sects, disliking Anglicans and Presbyterians equally, demanded religious liberty. Charles intrigued with all these three parties in turn, and tried to make the best terms he could for himself by setting one against another.

The first move in this curious three-cornered game was won by the English Parliament. Finding that Charles would not accept the terms which they and the Scots jointly offered him, they paid the Scottish army their expenses in the war, whereupon the Scots gave up the king to them, and marched back into their own country (January 1647). Having got possession of the king, Parliament then tried to disband the army.

But the army refused to separate without receiving the arrears of pay which were due, as well as security for freedom of religion. To enforce their demands, they suddenly seized upon the king at Holmby House, near Northampton (June). Then they marched on London, and forced the Presbyterian leaders to withdraw from Parliament.

There was now a good chance of some agreement being come to, but Charles spoilt everything by refusing the terms offered. In November he suddenly fled from Hampton Court, where the army had placed him, and took refuge in Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight. There he continued his intrigues, and succeeded in winning over the Scots to his side.



"Cromwell expelling the members of the Long Parliament!"

By Benjamin West, P.R.A. "Take away that Bauble!"

The Scots were becoming afraid of Cromwell and the English army, and they therefore combined with the Royalists in England for the restoration of the king

In the spring of 1648, Royalist insurrections took place in Wales, Kent, and other places. In July, the Scottish army invaded England, and what is called the Second Civil War began. But it was soon over, for in August the Scots were utterly beaten by Cromwell at Preston, and the Royalist risings were also suppressed. This victory sealed the fate of the king.

12. The Establishment of the Commonwealth—1648-1651.

WHILE the second civil war was going on, the Presbyterian members of Parliament who had been expelled in 1647 returned to their places, and Parliament again began to treat with the king. Charles was at first as unyielding as ever, but the victory at Preston destroyed his last hope. He now gave way, and accepted the Parliament's terms (September 1648). This arrangement was called the Treaty of Newport, from the place in the Isle of Wight where it was made.

But it was now too late, for Cromwell and the army had resolved that the author of so much misery and bloodshed should not be allowed to live any longer. They marched on London, and demanded the punishment of the king. Parliament, however, stood firm, and passed a vote approving of the Treaty of Newport. Thereupon an officer named Colonel Pride went down with his troopers to the House of Commons, and expelled more than a hundred of the Presbyterian members (December 6, 1648). This violent act was afterwards known as "Pride's Purge."

The remaining members, who soon got the nickname of the "Rump Parliament," were in agreement with the army,

and voted what the army wanted. A special court of justice, presided over by John Bradshaw, was created to try the king on the charge of high treason. Naturally, Charles refused to acknowledge the authority of the court, or to plead before it. But his objections were not listened to, and sentence of death was passed upon him.

He was beheaded in front of the palace of Whitehall on January 30, 1649. In his last speech, on the scaffold, Charles declared himself to be a "martyr to the people," put to death because he would not consent "to have all things changed according to the power of the sword." This was no doubt in a certain sense true.

He came to his death through trying, by all the means in his power, to maintain the authority of the crown and of the English Church. In this sense he was a martyr to his faith, and died doing what he believed to be his duty. But it is equally true that his obstinacy and his plotting brought about the civil war, while his intrigues during the last two years destroyed all trust in him, and made a peaceable settlement impossible. Thus, if the "power of the sword" came at last to rule everything, this was mainly the fault of King Charles.

When the king was dead, the Rump Parliament speedily established a republic. The monarchy and the House of Lords were abolished as "useless and dangerous" things. The government was placed in the hands of a Council of State of forty-one members. Finally, an Act declaring England to be a "commonwealth and free state," or, as we should say, a republic, was passed in May 1649.

Fairfax was still commander-in-chief of the army, but the soldiers looked up to Cromwell as their real leader. This made him very powerful, and as he was at the same time a member of Parliament and of the Council, he was now the first man in the state. But several years were still to elapse before he became its absolute ruler.

At this moment Scotland and Ireland defied the authority of the English Parliament, while even in the army there were signs of discord. Some of the soldiers thought the revolution

had not gone far enough, and wished to see an equal division of property and an abolition of all authority. These men were called "Levelleis". In May 1649 they broke out into open mutiny.

But Cromwell was able to cope with all these difficulties. He speedily suppressed the mutiny in the army, and then started for Ireland. Dublin and Londonderry were at this time the only places in Ireland which still adhered to the Parliament. All the rest of the country was in revolt. But the Irish, true to their ancient character, had not yet come to any agreement among themselves, though it was nearly eight years since their rebellion had begun.

Cromwell landed at Dublin in August 1649. He first marched against Drogheda, a strong place on the Boyne, where the best part of the Irish army lay. A stout resistance was made, but the town was taken by storm, and the garrison were killed almost to a man (September). Thence Cromwell marched southward to Wexford. That town, too, was stormed, and another massacre took place (October).

These two terrible blows broke the strength of the rebellion. Early next year (1650) Cromwell overran all the south of Ireland, taking one place after another. Then he returned to England, leaving his lieutenants, Ludlow and Ixton, to finish the work of conquest, which was soon complete.

Meanwhile the Scottish Royalists had fallen out among themselves. Early in 1650 Montrose invaded the Highlands with a small army, hoping to place the young Prince Charles on the throne. But the Presbyterians, under the Duke of Argyll, would not have Charles, unless he promised to take the Covenant. They therefore resisted Montrose, who was defeated and captured at Corbiedale, in Ross-shire, brought to Edinburgh, and executed (May 1650).

Thus the party of Argyll—the Covenanters, as they were called—became supreme, and Prince Charles had to accept their terms. He went to Scotland, took the Covenant, and was received by the Scots as their king. This forced the

English Parliament to act, and in July 1650 an English army under Cromwell invaded Scotland

Cromwell advanced towards Edinburgh, but the Scots under Leslie skilfully evaded a battle, and the English, unable to find provisions, had to retreat to Dunbar. There they were hemmed in between the hills and the sea, and it seemed as if they would be forced to yield. But in their anxiety to secure a victory, the Scots left their strong position on the hills, whereupon Cromwell attacked and completely defeated them (September 3, 1650).

The victory of Dunbar did not, however, end the war. On the contrary, Charles was crowned King of Scotland at Seone on January 1, 1651. The Scots withdrew northward, followed by Cromwell, and for a long time the hostile forces lay facing each other near Stirling, or vainly trying to get into a position of advantage. Suddenly (August 1651) Charles broke up his camp and marched rapidly into England, hoping that the English Royalists would come to his aid.

He marched westward into the Severn valley, hotly pursued by Cromwell, and encamped at Worcester. There the final battle of the war was fought, and Cromwell gained a victory, which he himself called a "crowning mercy" (September 3, 1651). Charles, after many difficulties and hairbreadth escapes, made his way to France, and the three kingdoms submitted to the English Parliament and army.

I3. The Commonwealth and the Protectorate—1651-1658.

THE close of the civil war in 1651 left the Parliament and the army facing each other, as in 1647 and 1648. Again they were unable to agree as to how the government should be carried on. It was clear that if a Parliament was to govern the country, it ought to be a Parliament really repre-

senting the people of Great Britain. But the Rump Parliament in 1651 was far from doing this, it was a mere fragment of the old Parliament elected eleven years before.

Cromwell and the army advised that it should dissolve as soon as possible and allow a new Parliament to be elected. But the members were anxious to continue in power. They therefore brought in a bill which not only put off their dissolution for two years, but also enacted that all the members of the old Parliament should retain their seats in the new.

Such a selfish and unjust proposal could not be allowed to pass, so Cromwell resolved to stop it. In April 1653 he went down to the House with some of his troopers, and after rating the members soundly for their conduct, turned them out of doors. Thus the famous Long Parliament came to an end for a time.

Cromwell then called together (July 1653) a small assembly of persons, not elected by the people, but nominated by himself and other officers, to consider what should be done. This assembly was called the "Little Parliament," or "Barebone's Parliament," from one of its members, a merchant, named Praise God Barbon. It proposed a great many changes, but the task of inventing a practical scheme of government was too much for it, and it soon resigned its powers into Cromwell's hands (December 1653).

Thereupon the officers of the army met together and framed a constitution, which was called the "Instrument of Government." This constitution established (1) a single head of the state, to be called the "Protector," (2) a Parliament, consisting of one chamber, and representing not England alone, but—for the first time in our history—Great Britain and Ireland, (3) a Council of State, chosen jointly by the Protector and the Parliament. The Protector was to have command of the army and navy, while the Parliament was to meet every three years, to vote taxes and make laws.

Cromwell became Protector in December 1653. His first task was to restore the country to its proper position abroad. The great war on the Continent had ended, so far as Germany, Sweden, and Holland were concerned, in 1648, but it was still

going on between France and Spain Germany was nearly ruined by thirty years of strife, Spain was slowly decaying, while France was becoming stronger every year

The Dutch, who had thrown off the yoke of Spain, were now the rivals of England in regard to commerce and naval power. A war broke out between the two nations in 1651, which was carried on with dogged resolution by both sides. Several naval battles were fought, in which the Dutch admiral, Tromp, proved a match for the English commander, Blake. But on the whole the Dutch were worsted, and they were glad to make peace with Cromwell, in April 1654, resigning to England the supremacy at sea.

After this, the Protector was free to carry out a bold and successful foreign policy. Three things he especially aimed at—to secure the safety of the Commonwealth, to maintain the Protestant religion, and to foster British trade. Accordingly, he entered into a league with two of the chief Protestant powers of the Continent, Sweden and Holland, which strengthened him at home, and made him head of the Protestant party in Europe.

His great power led both France and Spain to court his alliance. He first tried to get the Spaniards to permit English merchants to trade freely with the Spanish colonies, and to promise that they should not be molested on account of their religion, but the Spaniards refused, and he declared war against Spain.

Still, he did not at once join France. Before doing so, he insisted that the French king, Louis the Fourteenth, should put a stop to the persecution of the Protestants in Savoy. In order to gain the help of Cromwell against Spain, Louis made the Duke of Savoy cease persecuting his subjects, upon which the alliance between Great Britain and France was concluded (1657).

In the war with Spain, Cromwell was victorious. In 1655 he took Jamaica from the Spaniards. A little later the English army, in conjunction with the French, beat the Spaniards at the battle of the Dunes and took Dunkirk in Flanders.

(June 1658) Thus, in the course of a few years, Cromwell raised Great Britain to a height of power in Europe which she had never reached before

In his home government Cromwell was not so successful, for he could not get a Parliament to acknowledge his authority. In accordance with the "Instrument of Government," he called a Parliament in September 1654. But he soon quarrelled with it, for it contained a good many Republicans, who regarded him as a tyrant. He turned out a large number of these, but the remainder still opposed him, so he dissolved the Parliament (January 1655).

Cromwell's second Parliament was called in 1656. This time he began by excluding nearly a hundred of his opponents. The rest drew up a document called the "Humble Petition and Advice," in which, among other things, they begged Cromwell to take the title of king.

Cromwell was ready to become king, but the Republicans in the army were so hostile to this proposal that he had to give it up. He accepted, however, the rest of the "Petition and Advice," which established a sort of House of Lords, and gave the Protector the right of naming his successor.

When, in the second session of this Parliament, the excluded members were allowed to return to their places, they at once began to attack the new House of Lords, and Cromwell again dismissed Parliament (February 1658). This was his last attempt at Parliamentary government. He died on the anniversary of his victories of Dunbar and Worcester, September 3, 1658.

14. The Restoration—1658-1667.

THE government of Cromwell had been in many ways very successful. He had made England respected abroad, and he had kept order at home. He had increased trade and commerce, he had made religion free—not indeed so free as it is now, but free in comparison with what it had been before.

Nevertheless, he had altogether failed to establish his power on a secure foundation

Most persons in Great Britain held him to be a usurper, and he could never get a freely elected Parliament to support him. Therefore he was obliged to depend on his army—that is to say, his government was a military despotism, more destructive of national liberty than the government of Charles the First. His power perished with him, for when he died there was no one to take his place.

His son, Richard Cromwell, was made Protector, but Richard was a quiet, unambitious man, quite unable to follow in his father's steps. He summoned a Parliament, but the old quarrel between the Parliament and the army broke out again, and neither army nor Parliament paid any attention to Richard, so in July 1659 he resigned.

After this, for nearly a year, there was no government in Great Britain. The remains of the old Long Parliament—the Rump, as it was called—which had never been legally dissolved, returned to Westminster, but it had no longer any power. The army itself was disunited, and the generals quarrelled with one another. At last, it became clear to every one, even to the soldiers themselves, that the only way out of this state of anarchy and confusion was to restore the king.

General Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, marched to London, persuaded the Rump to dissolve itself, and summoned a free Parliament, called the "Convention." This assembly at once invited Prince Charles, who was then in Holland, to return. He entered London on May 29, 1660, and began to reign as Charles the Second. So glad were all the people to see him, that he said he wondered why he had not come back before.

But though the monarchy was restored, it was not the old monarchy of Charles the First. The Acts which the Long Parliament had passed in its first session were almost all maintained, and thus the power of the crown remained limited. The great army, on which Cromwell's power had rested, was disbanded. The old feudal rights of the crown were abolished,

but, to make up for this, the tax called the "excise," which had been invented by the Long Parliament, was maintained. The king's revenue was fixed at £1,200,000—a large sum for those days.

After this, the Convention Parliament was dissolved, and a regular Parliament was called (May 1661), which sat for nearly eighteen years. This Parliament was at first much more royalist than the Convention. It strongly condemned the civil war, and declared that the king had sole control of the army, that no laws could be passed without his consent, and that Parliament could not, under any conditions, levy war against him. The English Church received back again all its rights and privileges, and several laws were passed to suppress the Nonconformists.

The Corporation Act (1661) obliged all holders of offices in towns to take the sacrament according to the English form. The Act of Uniformity (1662) enforced the use of the English Prayer Book in all places of worship. The Conventicle Act (1664) forbade any congregation to hold divine service except according to the ritual of the Church of England. Finally, the Five Mile Act (1665) forbade any Nonconformist minister to teach in schools, or to come within five miles of a town.

This tyrannical body of laws, which led to much persecution of the Nonconformists, was called the "Clarendon Code," from Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon. Clarendon had been one of the moderate reformers in the early days of the Long Parliament, but he was a strong churchman, and when the Parliament began to attack the church he had gone over to the king's side.

After Charles's death, Clarendon acted as the chief adviser of his son, and when Charles the Second came back in 1660 he became Lord Chancellor, and the chief minister of the crown. At first he had great influence with the king, and was popular with the nation. But he gradually lost the king's favour, partly because he was too strict, and partly because he was too powerful.

Charles the Second was not at all like his father. To



The Fall of Gloucester By J. M. Ward R.A. In the National Gallery of British Art

begin with, he was irreligious and immoral. In the second place, though he would have liked to be an absolute king, he loved pleasure above all things, and for the sake of his own ease and comfort he was ready to give way to Parliament, or to betray the interests of his country to foreigners, as his father would never have done. While Clarendon was in power, Charles could not do quite what he liked, and therefore he was not sorry to get rid of him when he fell out of favour with the Parliament.

Clarendon grew unpopular because he had so much power, but his fall was chiefly due to his foreign policy. The country was beginning to be afraid of France, which was becoming very powerful under Louis the Fourteenth. But in spite of this, Clarendon made France still stronger (1662) by selling to Louis the port of Dunkirk, which Cromwell had taken from Spain a few years before.

Then, in 1665, war was declared against Holland. The nation had no objection to this, for they were very jealous of the Dutch. But the war was mismanaged, and much public money was wasted by the corruptness or the incapacity of the king's ministers. Some victories were won over the Dutch, but in the end they had the best of the fighting.

At the same time people were in great distress owing to the fearful plague, which carried off thousands of victims in 1665, and the great fire of London, which consumed a large part of the city in 1666. Of course Clarendon was not to blame for these misfortunes, but they all tended to increase the anger of the people, when, in 1667, the Dutch fleet sailed up the Medway and burned the English ships at Chatham. This event forced Great Britain to make a dishonourable peace. The national disgrace caused such an outcry against Clarendon that Charles dismissed him from office (August 1667).

15. Charles II. and the Parliamentary Opposition—1667-1679.

PARLIAMENT was not satisfied with driving Clarendon from office. The Commons impeached him for high treason, and when, to avoid punishment, he fled to France, sentence of exile was passed upon him. This was an important event, for it taught over again the lesson which had been taught by the fall of Strafford—namely, that no minister, however powerful, could defy Parliament with impunity.

It meant also a change of feeling towards the king. The enthusiasm for the monarchy was fast dying away. In 1660 men had been so heartily sick of the Commonwealth and the army that they had welcomed the king's return as a relief from intolerable tyranny. But now they began to find out that the restored monarchy was not perfect, and in condemning Clarendon they blamed his master.

The nation had soon further cause for discontent. On the fall of Clarendon, the king appointed a new ministry. It was called the "Cabal" (which means "secret"), from the first letters of the ministers' names—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury), and Lauderdale. They were shrewd men, but very unscrupulous politicians, and they helped the king in his schemes.

Charles was inclined towards an alliance with France, partly because he was half French himself—his mother, Henrietta Maria, was daughter of the French king, Henry the Fourth—and partly because he thought his cousin, Louis the Fourteenth, would be able to help him to become less dependent on his Parliament. To gain the friendship of the French king, Charles now played a very clever but a very dishonest game.

At this time (1667) France was at war with Spain, and was winning victories over the Spaniards. Charles therefore made a league with Holland and Sweden against France (1668). This was called the Triple Alliance. It was very popular in



The Great Fire of London. By Stanhope A. Forbes, P. A., in the
Royal Exchange London

England, because men were afraid that France was growing too strong, and it was successful, for it forced Louis to make peace with Spain.

Louis was very angry with the Dutch, and set himself at once to make friends with Charles, in order to break up the Triple Alliance. This was just what Charles wanted. He welcomed the offers of Louis, and in 1670 the Treaty of Dover was made between them. In this treaty France and Great Britain engaged to make war jointly on the Dutch, and if possible to conquer their country.

But there was also a secret clause in the treaty, known only to Charles and two of his ministers, by which Louis promised to give Charles £200,000 a year, on condition that Charles should do his best to restore the Roman Catholic religion in England. In accordance with this treaty, war was declared against Holland in 1672. About the same time Charles issued a "Declaration of Indulgence," in which he announced that in future the laws against dissenters, whether Protestant or Romanist, would be relaxed.

Now this was in itself an excellent thing, for it was a step towards religious freedom. But Charles had no right to alter the laws without the consent of Parliament, moreover, his real design was to favour, not the Protestant dissenters, but the Romanists. Parliament therefore obliged Charles to withdraw the declaration, and then passed the "Test Act" (1673), by which all persons holding office under the crown were obliged to take the sacrament according to the form of the English Church. This enactment was intended to keep all Nonconformists, whether Protestant or Romanist, from sharing in the government of the country.

The result of the Test Act was that James, Duke of York, the king's brother, who was a Romanist, had to give up his post of Lord High Admiral, while Lord Clifford also retired from office. So strong was the feeling against the Cabal Ministry, that the other members soon afterwards withdrew. Thus the king's plans were frustrated, and for the second time he was forced by public opinion to change his ministers.

Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards Earl of Danby, now took the lead in the government. One of the first things he had to deal with was the war with Holland, which had not been successful. When the French invaded Holland, a revolution broke out, in which the Dutch overthrew their republican leaders, and set up William, the young Prince of Orange, as "Stadhouder" (or ruler), in their place. William was a very brave and energetic prince, and under his leadership the Dutch repelled the combined forces of England and France.

There was a great and growing jealousy of France in England, and by this time, too, the secret arrangement between Charles and Louis had partly leaked out. Parliament now demanded that peace should be made with Holland. The king himself was not sorry to put an end to the war, for the Prince of Orange was his nephew, the son of his sister Mary and William, Prince of Orange, who died in 1651. Peace was therefore made in February 1674.

Three years later (1677) William of Orange married Mary, niece of the king, and eldest daughter of James, Duke of York. The marriage was very popular in England, and Parliament pressed the king to declare war against France in aid of the Dutch. To avoid this, Charles made another secret treaty with Louis, by which he agreed, on receiving a large sum of money from France, to prorogue Parliament, and not to assist the Dutch (1678).

Soon afterwards Louis made peace with Holland, and then disclosed the secret treaty. The disclosure caused great excitement and indignation, for the people were already much agitated by rumours about a so called "Popish Plot". One Titus Oates had come forward, pretending that he had proofs of a terrible plot, which he said the Romanists had concocted against the king and the nation. His stories were mostly lies, but they were generally believed.

A sort of panic ensued. Many Roman Catholics were imprisoned and executed on the evidence of worthless informers. An Act was passed excluding Papists from the House of Lords. Danby was impeached for his share in the secret treaty, and

the Commons were preparing to attack James, Duke of York, the king's brother, when Charles dissolved Parliament (January 1679)

The new Parliament, elected in a time of great excitement, was even more strongly Protestant than the last. It continued the attack on Danby, who, in spite of the king's pardon, was committed to the Tower. But its most important step was to bring in a Bill called the "Exclusion Bill," to exclude the Duke of York from the succession to the throne. A violent struggle took place over this proposal, which nearly gave rise to a revolution.

16. The Exclusion Bill, and the Tyranny of James II.—1679-1688.

THE leader of the Parliamentary opposition in 1679 was Lord Shaftesbury, who, as Lord Ashley, had been a member of the Cabal Ministry. His real object in pushing on the Exclusion Bill was not only to shut out the Duke of York from the succession, but to put the Duke of Monmouth on the throne. Monmouth was the son of Charles the Second, but he had no right to succeed, because he was not legitimate—that is, his father and mother had not been married. As Charles had no legitimate children, his brother James, Duke of York, was the rightful heir to the throne.

The king, on his side, behaved very discreetly in this matter. He gave his consent to an excellent law which Parliament introduced, called the "Habeas Corpus Act" (May 1679), by which the right to a fair and speedy trial was secured to all prisoners. But he was determined not to accept the Exclusion Bill, and when the Commons pressed it on he dissolved Parliament (July 1679).

A new Parliament was called in October 1679, but it was prorogued again and again, and did not meet till October 1680.

The House of Commons passed the Exclusion Bill, but the House of Lords, after a great speech by Lord Halifax against the Bill, rejected it. Emboldened by this support, the king declared he would never assent to the Bill. The Commons replied by refusing supplies, whereupon Charles dismissed them (January 1681).

A little later (March 1681) another Parliament met, this time at Oxford. There was great excitement throughout the country. For the third time the Commons brought in the Exclusion Bill. Charles offered to consent to a law banishing the Duke of York, and making the Prince of Orange (his son-in-law) regent in his place. But the Commons insisted on excluding the duke altogether, and the king again dissolved Parliament (March 28, 1681).

This was the end of the struggle. The Exclusion Bill was in itself a revolutionary measure, and in their efforts to pass the Bill the Commons were so violent that they brought the nation to the verge of civil war. The king, on the other hand, kept well within his rights, and he offered great concessions, which the Commons rejected.

The majority of the nation, seeing that the supporters of the Bill were going too far, and dreading another armed struggle like that of 1642, rallied to the king's side, while the fury of the opposite faction gradually burned itself out. During the rest of his reign Charles had little trouble. A plot, called the Rye House Plot, to murder him and the Duke of York, was discovered (1683), and only brought further discredit on their opponents. When Charles died, in 1685, the duke succeeded at once to the throne.

James the Second was very different from his brother. In his moral character he was, indeed, little if at all better than Charles. But while Charles was good-natured and easy-going, witty in conversation, and gracious to all about him, James was gloomy, taciturn, and revengeful. Charles, again, was a clever politician, and had great insight into men and affairs, but James was stupid and incautious. Lastly, while Charles cared little or nothing for religion, James was so bigoted

a Romanist that he was ready to hazard his crown in the cause of Rome

The defeat of the Exclusion Bill led James to think that the nation was more devoted to him than it really was. This opinion was further strengthened by the success which he met with in the first year of his reign. Two attempts at insurrection were made, and both failed.

The Duke of Monmouth landed in the west of England (June 1685), and endeavoured to raise the country against James. He was joined by a good many of the poorer people, but the nobility and gentry, for the most part, held aloof. The small army which he collected was soon defeated by the royal troops at Sedgemoor, in Somersetshire (July 6)—the last battle fought on English soil. Monmouth was soon afterwards captured and executed, pleading in vain for mercy (July 15). A terrible revenge was taken on his misguided adherents, many of whom were condemned to death by Judge Jeffreys, in what was called the “Bloody Assize.”

Meanwhile, in Scotland, the Earl of Argyll, the head of the Presbyterian party, had attempted a rising, with as little success. He too was defeated, captured, and executed (June 1685). Parliament, during this crisis, had shown itself loyal to the king, and voted him large supplies.

Thus encouraged, James set about his great design of establishing the Roman Catholic religion in England. His first object was to place Romanists in command of the army and in important offices of state. He did not summon Parliament again, for he knew it would oppose him, but he used the law courts, as his father had done.

He gave a commission in the army to Sir Edward Hales, a Romanist, at the same time exempting him from the test imposed by the Test Act of 1673. The question, whether he had a right so to “dispense with” the Test Act—that is, to exempt a person from its action—was then tried before a court of law, and the judges decided in favour of the king (June 1686). Thereupon many other Romanists received offices, both civil and military, and the Test Act was openly set at naught.

Soon afterwards the Court of High Commission, which had been abolished in 1641, was illegally revived. It was used to oversee the clergy, and to prevent them from opposing the king's plans. In April 1687 the king issued a "Declaration of Indulgence," by which he "suspended"—that is, stopped for a time—the laws against Romanists and other dissenters.

The universities were next attacked. The deanery of Christ Church, Oxford, was given to a Romanist, and the fellows of Magdalen College were expelled for refusing to elect a Roman Catholic president. The vice-chancellor and others at Cambridge were punished for refusing to confer a degree on a Romanist.

Finally, in May 1688, James issued the Declaration of Indulgence again, and this time he ordered the clergy to read it in their churches. Archbishop Sancroft and six other bishops, having presented a petition to the king against this order, were brought to trial on a charge of sedition. The trial was watched by the whole country with intense anxiety. The result was that the bishops were acquitted, and their acquittal (June 30) was the signal for a revolution.

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17. The English Revolution.

1688-1689.

IN the short space of three years, James had continued to set the whole country against him. There were two parties in the state, who were first known as Whigs and Tories during the struggle over the Exclusion Bill. The Whigs, who supported the bill, thought that, if king and Parliament disagreed, the king must give way. The Tories, who believed in what was called the "divine right" of kings, held that no one had a right to resist the king.

But the Tories regarded the church as equally sacred with

the crown, and James was doing his best to overthrow the church. Thus the Tories could not maintain their religion without opposing the king. In this conflict religion carried the day, and the Tories were driven, for a time at least, to join the Whigs.

Nor was it only the Protestant religion that was being attacked, James was also threatening political liberty. In "suspending" the laws against Papists and other dissenters, he swept aside the authority of Parliament. In prosecuting the bishops for their petition, he violated one of the most ancient liberties of Englishmen.

Further, James maintained, and even increased, the army which had been raised against Monmouth, and he placed Roman Catholic officers in command. With this army he evidently intended to crush any opposition that might be made to his plans. Thus the country was threatened with a tyranny like that of Cromwell, but worse, because it would have been Romanist instead of Protestant.

Finally, the state of foreign affairs under James caused much anxiety to all who wanted to see Great Britain powerful and prosperous abroad. Louis the Fourteenth had for some time been encroaching on his neighbours. In 1681, during a time of peace, he had seized the great town of Strasburg, and had annexed many other places in Alsace and Lorraine. Soon afterwards he occupied Luxemburg, and bombarded Genoa. Moreover, he was becoming, in his old age, a bigoted Romanist, and had begun to persecute the French Protestants. France was therefore a growing danger, not only to Great Britain and Europe, but also to the Protestant religion.

Now Europe was weak and disunited, and so long as Great Britain remained allied with France, there was no power capable of checking the French king. But James persisted in maintaining the French alliance which his brother had made, for he relied on Louis to help him, if necessary, in his plans. Thus, in order to oppose Louis with any chance of success, it was necessary first to overthrow James.

This was the reason which induced William of Orange,

the Stadhouder of Holland, to join in bringing about the English Revolution. William was half a Stuart—his mother had been a daughter of Charles the First—but on his father's side he sprang from the great house of Nassau, which had led the Dutch in their gallant struggle for independence against Spain. He himself, as we have already seen, had checked the French invasion and saved his country when only twenty-one years old (1672).

At this moment (1688) Louis was preparing for a war with Germany. If he were successful in this, he was certain to turn next against Holland. William was therefore very glad when the leaders of both the great parties in England invited him (June 1688) to help them against James. The acquittal of the seven bishops, and the universal joy with which it was received, seemed to show that the country was on their side.

It needed a great deal of courage in William to leave his country unprotected, while he risked an invasion of England. But it was his only chance, and his courage and wisdom were rewarded by success. After publishing (September 30) a declaration, in which he said he was coming to England with an army in order to secure a free Parliament, he started from Holland, and landed at Torbay (November 5, 1688).

Thence he marched towards London, and was joined by many of the gentry on the way. If James's army had proved faithful to him, William might have been defeated, and the Revolution might never have taken place. But many of the officers, led by Churchill, afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough, went over to William, and the army made little resistance.

Meanwhile James had been trying to conciliate his subjects, but it was now too late. Finding himself gradually deserted by all whom he trusted, including his daughter, the Princess Anne, he tried to escape abroad (December 11). On his way he was caught by some fishermen, and brought back to London. This was very inconvenient, for what nearly every one wanted was to get him out of the country. He was there-

fore conveyed to Rochester, whence he was allowed to take ship for France (December 23)

By this time William had arrived in London, and had called a meeting of peers and former members of Parliament. By their advice he summoned an assembly, which was really a Parliament, but was called a "Convention," because William was not yet king. The Convention met on January 22, 1689.

Hitherto the Revolution had been conducted with ease and success, it was now that the real difficulties began. Some of the Tories wished to restore James, if he would pledge himself to govern better, others were ready to accept William as regent, leaving to James the title of king, others again held that, though James's having left the country, his daughter Mary had actually become queen.

Of these views, the first two were clearly impracticable, and William refused to accept the third, which would have made him merely his wife's chief minister. The Whigs, on the other hand, maintained that the nation had a right to depose its king and choose another in his place, and they proposed simply to transfer the crown to William. A settlement was very difficult, but at length it was decided that William and Mary should reign together as King and Queen of England.

A "Declaration of Right" was drawn up, which condemned as illegal many of the acts of James, such as the suspending of the laws, and the keeping of a standing army in time of peace without consent of Parliament. It also affirmed a number of national rights and liberties, such as the right of petitioning the crown, and the necessity of frequent Parliaments, and it enacted that in future no Papist should occupy the throne of England. William and Mary promised to observe these enactments, and they were thereupon proclaimed king and queen. Thus the Revolution was successfully accomplished.

James II receiving the News of the Landing of the Prince of Orange by Mr. Whistler in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



18. Scotland and Ireland.

1651-1689.

UNDER the government of Cromwell, Scotland and Ireland were united to England as they had never been before. Their separate Parliaments ceased to exist, and both countries sent members to Cromwell's Parliament in London. Both countries were overawed by a strong military force, but the soldiers were strictly disciplined, good order was kept, and trade and industry were fostered.

In other respects, however, Cromwell dealt out very different treatment to the two countries. The Scots, as being Protestants and former allies of the English Parliament, he treated leniently. Their property was not confiscated, nor were they disturbed in the free exercise of their religion.

But the "Cromwellian settlement" of Ireland (1652) revived with ruthless severity the tyrannical principles of the Tudor Government. The Irish were treated as rebels and Papists, who deserved no mercy. All land in possession of the Irish to the east of the Shannon—three-fourths of the island—was confiscated, and allotted to Cromwell's supporters and the soldiers of his victorious army. The native Irish were henceforward to be confined to the districts west of that river.

Such a wholesale expulsion of the inhabitants could not, of course, be fully carried out. Most of the natives lived on near their old homes, but in a miserable and servile condition. The religious liberty which to a large extent prevailed in England was not extended to the Romanists in Ireland.

Both in Ireland and in Scotland the Restoration produced a great change. In both countries the old national Parliaments and separate systems of government were revived. But while in Ireland the condition of the natives was somewhat improved, in Scotland a religious persecution began which increased in severity down to the time of the Revolution in 1688.

The Irish Parliament passed two "Acts of Settlement"

(1 292)



The Prince of Orange landing at Torbay by J. M. W. Turner RA. In the National Gallery.

(1661 and 1665), which, while generally confirming the Cromwellian settlement of 1652, gave back to the native Irish a portion of their lands. Further, as Charles the Second, if he had any religion at all, was inclined to Rome, the Irish Roman Catholics enjoyed, under him, more religious liberty than they had under Cromwell.

On the other hand, the English Government did all it could to prevent Irish industry and agriculture from competing with English. Irish manufactures were discouraged. Irish cattle, butter, and other farm produce, were prohibited from being brought to England. No colonial goods could be imported into Ireland except through England. This selfish and short-sighted policy did Ireland great harm, and increased the sum of Irish discontent.

Towards Scotland, the English Parliament showed the same commercial jealousy. But it was the religious policy of the Restoration that caused most suffering in Scotland. Charles had taken the Covenant in 1650, and had pledged himself to maintain the Presbyterian religion and form of church government. Nevertheless, when he came back to power in 1660, Episcopacy was at once restored.

James Sharp, a clergyman who had been sent up to London by the Presbyterians to plead for their church, turned traitor, and was made Archbishop of St Andrews. Lauderdale, another Presbyterian, afterwards a member of the Cabal Ministry, renounced his religion, and became governor of Scotland under Charles. Under these two men a general persecution of the Presbyterians began.

The Marquis of Argyll was executed on a charge of treason. Johnston and Guthrie, two leading Covenanters, were also put to death. All officials, high and low, were compelled to abjure the Covenant. Many ministers were expelled from their livings, and if they clung to the Covenant, they were forbidden, by the Scottish Mile Act (1662), to come within twenty miles of their parishes.

This religious tyranny produced its natural results. The western Covenanters rose in arms, and marched on Edinburgh.

(1666) But they were defeated at the Pentland Hills, and the persecution only increased in severity

In 1679 a more serious rising took place. Some extreme Covenanters, led by John Balfour and Hackston of Rathillet, murdered Archbishop Sharp on Magus Moor in Fife. They then fled to the west and raised the standard of rebellion. John Graham of Claverhouse was sent to suppress them. He was beaten at Drumclog, but the Duke of Monmouth afterwards defeated the insurgents at Bothwell Bridge, and dispersed them with great slaughter (June 22, 1679).

The persecution now became worse than ever. The Duke of York took the command, and Graham of Claverhouse exercised atrocious cruelty against the Covenanters. When the duke came to the throne as James the Second, all hope of religious liberty disappeared. The Scottish Parliament, from which Presbyterians were excluded by law, passed an Act making it death to attend an open-air "conventicle"—that is, a prohibited religious service. This led to what was known as the "killing time," when many persons suffered death without trial on account of their religion.

Naturally, therefore, the coming of William of Orange was welcomed in Scotland, and a revolution at once took place. A "Convention" met at Edinburgh (March 1689), and resolved outright that James, by his misdeeds, had forfeited the throne. It then abolished Episcopacy, and passed a "Claim of Right," similar to the "Declaration of Right" drawn up by the English Parliament. William and Mary accepted this, and were thereupon proclaimed king and queen.

But in Ireland, where the great majority of the people were Romanists, no such revolution could take place. On the contrary, the army there, which James had filled with Romanists, declared against William. The Roman Catholics rose all over the island, and threw off English control. In Scotland, too, there was a strong party, especially in the north, which remained faithful to James. It took some time, therefore, before the Revolution was established in either country.

19. India and America—1603-1689.

WHILE Great Britain was passing through a series of internal conflicts which ended in the establishment of Parliamentary government, the foundations of her empire in India and America were being quietly and almost imperceptibly laid. This was the work of the seventeenth century. Great Britain was not one of the first colonizing powers, Spain, Portugal, and even Holland, were ahead of her in the race.

The discovery of America by Christopher Columbus (1492) had led to large parts of South and Central America coming under the sway of Spain. Another portion (Brazil) was occupied by the Portuguese. But the efforts of Englishmen to establish themselves in America had, before the end of Elizabeth's reign, not been successful, while in India they had hardly made an attempt.

The Portuguese were the first to open up a direct trade with India, through the discovery, by Vasco da Gama, of the route round the Cape of Good Hope in 1497. They had a settlement at Goa in 1515, and they drove a lucrative trade with the "Spice Islands," which we now call the Malay Archipelago. Thus, when Portugal was annexed to Spain by Philip the Second (1580), Spain became not merely the chief but the only colonial power in Europe, and the trade of the East and the West was in her hands.

The Dutch had set themselves to break down this monopoly. In the struggle for their independence (1568-1609), they made themselves a great naval power, and soon began to rival the Spaniards and Portuguese in the East. Their chief settlements were in the Spice Islands, among which they conquered Java, but they also settled in India.

When war broke out between England and Spain (1585), the English began to attack Spanish commerce all over the world. On the last day of the sixteenth century (December 31, 1600), the English East India Company was founded. In 1612 a settlement was made at Surat, in the Gulf of Cambay.

By 1643 the English were settled at Madras, and they had also established a trading-station on the Hoogly, in Bengal.

Their efforts to secure a trade brought them into collision both with the Dutch and with the Portuguese. The nations might be at peace at home, but in the East an active rivalry was carried on, which often flamed up into war. In 1623 the English company suffered a severe reverse, known as the "Massacre of Amboyna," at the hands of the Dutch.

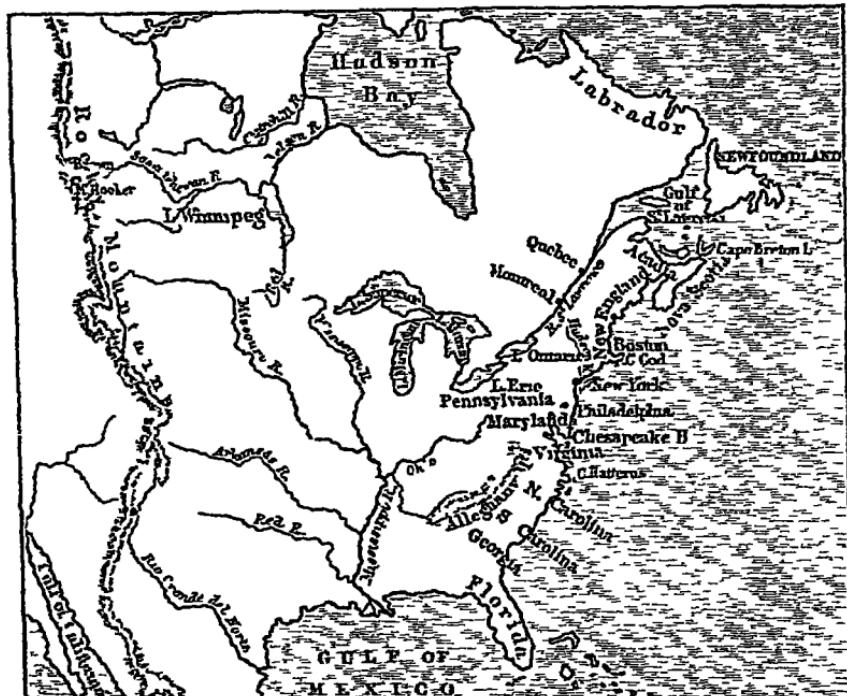
The Dutch, indeed, were too strong for them in the Spice Islands, and drove them to settle in India instead. In 1662 Charles the Second married Catherine of Braganza, a Portuguese princess, who brought him Tangier and Bombay as a dowry. Charles set little value on Bombay, and sold it to the East India Company for a yearly rent of £10. Finally, in 1686, a "factory," or, as we should call it, an agency, was established at Calcutta. Thus, before the Revolution, the foundations of the three great presidencies—Bengal, Bombay, and Madras—had been laid.

The French were also beginning to make rapid advances in India. Then East India Company was founded by Colbert, the great minister of Louis the Fourteenth, in 1664, and was strongly supported by government. Still, there was as yet room for all the European powers in India, and the chief difficulties which the English East India Company met with were from rival companies which from time to time were started in England.

Meanwhile in North America a series of colonies had been founded by different European states. The French were the first to get a permanent footing on that continent. In 1603 they settled at Quebec, on the St. Lawrence, and a little later at Montreal. They also colonized Acadia, afterwards known as Nova Scotia, and claimed Hudson Bay. The Dutch settled a little later between Delaware Bay and Connecticut, and called the country New Netherland.

But the English colonies soon outstripped these in importance. The first to be established was the great colony of Virginia, formed by an English company in 1606. All the

country south of Delaware Bay was originally called Virginia. Out of it were afterwards cut, first, the colony of Maryland, founded by Lord Baltimore in 1633, and called after the queen, Henrietta Maria, and, secondly, Carolina, which obtained a separate government in 1663. Carolina was originally so called after Charles the Ninth of France, in whose time the French first explored it, but it was renamed after Charles the Second of England. Georgia, still farther south, was added at a much later date (1733).



The "New England" colonies formed a second group, north of the Dutch settlements. They were, for the most part, founded by religious dissenters from England, sometimes called the "Pilgrim Fathers," who crossed the ocean to find in the wilderness the liberty of worship which was denied them at home. Between 1620 and 1640 the colonies of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were all founded.

A third group was formed out of the Dutch settle-

ments, which were conquered in 1664. They were retaken by the Dutch in 1673, but were finally handed over to Great Britain in 1674. The chief of these colonies was New York, called after the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second. Pennsylvania was founded by the Quaker William Penn in 1682. Delaware and New Jersey were established as separate colonies at a later date.

The North American colonies soon acquired the right of self-government, subject, of course, to the control of the mother country. The systems of government varied in detail, but their general character was the same. There was a governor, appointed by the crown or by the "proprietor" of the colony, or (in one or two cases) elected by the people, a council, similarly nominated, and an assembly of representatives, elected by the people, with practical control over law and taxation.

The total population numbered, in 1689, about 200,000 souls. The colonies were rural in the main, and as yet had little trade, but there were some flourishing towns, as Boston and New York. Religious toleration generally prevailed, and though there was no great wealth, there was plenty of comfort, and little or no poverty.

20. Trade, Industry, and Literature.

1603-1689.

THE progress of our American colonies and of the East India Company was a sign of the growing enterprise and commercial activity of the country in general. There were many other companies which traded with foreign parts. Of these one of the oldest and most important was that of the "Merchant Adventurers," which traded principally with Flanders, Holland, and Northern Germany.

Other great companies were the Levant Company, which dealt with Turkey and the countries bordering on the eastern

Mediterranean, and the Eastland and Russia Companies, which traded with the Baltic and with Russia. The Russia Company set up a trade with Persia, which followed the line of the Caspian Sea and the river Volga.

In these companies each member traded at his own risk. But there were already a few "joint-stock" companies, in which the members contributed to a common fund, and divided the profits or losses according to their contributions. Such was the Guinea Company, which traded with western Africa, and brought back the gold of which guineas were made.

Trade and industry were still subject to strict regulations. It was generally believed that this was good for trade, and at all events advantageous to the state at large. A notable example is to be found in the Navigation Laws, first passed in 1651, and strengthened in 1660. These laws enacted that no foreign goods should be brought to England or the colonies, except either in English ships or in ships belonging to the countries which produced the goods.

The object of this was to oblige Englishmen to build their own ships, and to cut out the Dutch, by whose vessels much of our foreign trade had hitherto been carried on. At first these laws hindered trade, because there was a want of English ships, but the later result was to call into being a great merchant navy, which was of immense service to the country.

Various industries were also encouraged by the state. To promote fisheries, it was enacted that fish alone should be eaten on Fridays, as in the times before the Reformation. To foster woollen manufactures, it was ordered that every dead person should be buried in woollen sheets. To help the American colonies, the growth of tobacco was prohibited in England.

But in spite of these efforts, commerce did not increase very fast. The annual value of our foreign trade, which in 1613 stood at about £4,500,000, had only risen to about £6,500,000 in 1703. The chief industry was the manufacture of cloth, which was generally made, not as now by machinery and in large factories, but by hand-workers in their own

dwellings The chief seats of this industry were in Norfolk, Wilts, Somerset, and South Yorkshire, but it was practised, more or less, all over the country One great advantage of this system was that country people were able to add a good deal to their income by these "cottage industries"

Manufactures also grew through the influx of immigrants from abroad, especially the Flemings, w^h flock^{ed} to England during the wars in the Netherlands in Elizabeth's reign, and the Huguenots, who left France when Louis the Fourteenth began to persecute them about 1685 These people brought in improvements in the art of weaving, and introduced the manufacture of lace at Honiton, of silk at Spitalfields (in London), as well as of other articles elsewhere

Meanwhile agriculture made comparatively little progress A good deal of land was enclosed—that is, turned from common land into private property This often inflicted hardship on poor people, but it led to better cultivation The chief advance took place in the Fen country, especially in Cambridgeshire, where large tracts of marsh land were drained and converted into rich and productive soil

The condition of the poor was becoming worse instead of better The rent of land and the price of food and other necessities were always rising, while wages rose at a much slower rate On the other hand, wealth increased in the hands of the nobility and the merchants

Some of the finest houses in England, such as Hatfield, Audley End, and Hardwick, date from the reign of James the First The dress worn by wealthy people early in the century was as rich as that of Elizabeth's day, and in better taste We may see it in the splendid pictures of Vandyck, who painted Charles the First and his court The Puritans introduced a plainer style of dress, the effects of which remained even after the Restoration

This change of dress was only the outward sign of the great change in manners and conduct which the Puritan movement produced When the rule of the Puritans was at its height, the old Elizabethan gaiety and love of display disap



The Battle of the Boyne By Benjamin West, P.R.A. (By permission of Messrs. Henry Graves and Co.)

peared, though unfortunately much of the coarseness remained. After the Restoration, there was a great reaction against everything Puritan. Unfortunately, not only were gaiety and humour restored, but vice became fashionable, and society followed only too closely the bad example of the "Merry Monarch," as Charles the Second was called.

The effects of Puritanism and of the reaction that followed are plainly visible in literature. In James the First's reign, and even later, the Elizabethan spirit still held the stage, with its richness, its freedom, its exuberant imagination. Many of Shakespeare's best plays, and almost all Bacon's philosophical works, were written in the time of James the First. Other great dramatists, such as Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, Ford, and Webster, wrote before the Civil War.

When Shakespeare died, in 1616, Milton was eight years old. He lived till 1674, and thus bridges over the gap between the Elizabethans and the Restoration. In his youth he was himself an Elizabethan, though of the soberer kind. His "Comus" and "Lycidas" belong to this period. In middle life he devoted himself to politics and the Parliamentary cause. When old and blind he wrote his "Paradise Lost" and "Samson Agonistes"—Puritan protests against the vicious spirit of the time. But the Puritan spirit did not die with him, for Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" was published four years after Milton's death.

Milton's place at the head of English literature was taken by Dryden, who was born in 1631, and lived till 1700. His plays and other writings bear the mark of the reaction against Puritanism, and of the French influence which was then coming in. An age which contains such poets as these, not to mention many others, with philosophers like Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke, men of science like Newton, divines like Jeremy Taylor and Baxter, diarists like Pepys and Evelyn, may well take rank as the greatest in English literature.

PART II

THE CREATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1689-1815

21. The Revolution in Scotland and Ireland, and the War with France.

1689-1697.

THE Revolution of 1688 was one of the most important events in our history. It not only established Parliamentary government and the Protestant Church in Great Britain, but it also led to a series of wars which ended in our becoming the greatest colonial and commercial power in the world. At first, however, it did not seem at all certain that the Revolution would succeed. Both in Ireland and in Scotland a large part of the population was hostile to it, while Louis the Fourteenth, the ally of James, prepared to oppose it with all his power.

War with France broke out immediately, but for some time after his accession William could not safely leave England. The Whigs had a majority in the Convention Parliament, and tried to punish their opponents for having supported Charles and James before the Revolution. Their disputes became so violent that William, after threatening to leave the country, was obliged, in January 1690, to dissolve Parliament. The new Parliament, which met in March, had a Tory majority, which proved more tractable.

Meanwhile important events had been happening in Scotland. Graham of Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, had at first tried to hold Edinburgh Castle for James, but finding that all the Lowlands were for William, he retired northward, and raised an army among the Highland clans. General Mackay, with some regular troops, marched against him, and met the Highlanders in the Pass of Killiecrankie, in Perthshire.

His troops could not stand the Highland rush, and were beaten. But Dundee was killed, and his death more than balanced the victory. The Highlanders made little effort to continue the war, and before long they all submitted to William.

Unfortunately, one clan, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, did not submit till just after the day fixed for taking the oath of allegiance. The Master of Stair, then Secretary of State for Scotland, had a private grudge against the Macdonalds, and persuaded William to let him punish the clan. Some soldiers were therefore sent to Glencoe, who, after being hospitably entertained by the Macdonalds, suddenly turned upon them in the night, and murdered the greater number of their hosts (February 1692). The "Massacre of Glencoe," as this cruel and treacherous deed was called, has ever since blackened the memory of William.

The resistance in Ireland was much more general than in Scotland. The whole country rose in favour of James, and the Protestants were driven to take refuge in Londonderry and Enniskillen. In March 1689 James came over from France, with some French troops lent him by Louis, and took command of the Irish forces.

Londonderry was now closely besieged, and the inhabitants suffered the extremity of famine. But they held out gallantly, till they were relieved by three English ships, which forced their way into the harbour and brought provisions to the starving garrison (July 30, 1689). Thereupon James's forces retired. Shortly afterwards they were defeated by the Protestants at Newton Butler, near Enniskillen (August 1689).

But these successes only enabled the Protestants to hold their own and no progress was made towards recovering the

country So, in June 1690, William himself went over to Ireland From Carrickfergus, where he landed, he marched on Dublin James tried to stop his advance on the banks of the river Boyne, but William's troops crossed the river under fire, and put the Irish army to flight (July 1, 1690)

The battle of the Boyne was a decisive victory, but it did not end the war James fled from the country, leaving his supporters to continue the struggle in the west Limerick was besieged, but held out bravely for James, and for a time the siege had to be raised But in July 1691 the Irish army in the field was cut to pieces at Aughrim, and on October 3 Limerick surrendered This brought the war in Ireland to a close

It had continued so long chiefly because Great Britain had lost control of the sea, and could not prevent the French from sending troops over to help James The French fleet was at this time superior to the British and Dutch fleets combined In June 1690, while William was away in Ireland, the French admiral, Tourville, beat the allied fleets off Beachy Head, and shortly afterwards burned Teignmouth

Had Louis taken advantage of this success to invade England, the Revolution might have been undone But he let slip the opportunity, and, in May 1692, Admiral Russell put a stop to the danger of invasion by winning a great victory over the French fleet off La Hogue This victory was really the saving of the Revolution, which it thus took nearly three years to establish

Henceforward the control of the sea passed again to England, and William could devote himself more fully to the war on the Continent The war, which was mainly fought in the Netherlands, was not going well for William and his allies In 1692 the French took the great fortress of Namur, which commands the valley of the Meuse, and they beat William in person at Steinkirk, near Brussels (August)

The next year (1693) was no better A great fleet of English merchant ships, on its way from the East, was captured by the French off Cape St Vincent, while at Landen, near

Louvain, William himself was again defeated. In 1694 a British expedition sent against Brest was defeated with much loss, principally owing to its plans having been treacherously disclosed to the French.

But in 1695 came the turn of the tide. William, whose skill and resolution had prevented the French from getting much benefit from their victories at Steinkirk and Landen, dealt a severe blow to their power by recapturing Namur. France was now becoming exhausted, and peace was accordingly made at Ryswick in 1697.

By this peace a great check was given to the French. Louis restored to Spain and Germany all the conquests (except Strasburg) which he had made since 1678, and acknowledged William as king. Great Britain made no conquests, but she had secured the Revolution, saved Holland, gained the supremacy at sea, and stopped Louis at the height of his power.

22. The Revolution and Domestic Government—1689-1697.

WE have seen that one of the first results of the Revolution was that it plunged this country into a great foreign war, far longer and more serious than any in which we had been engaged since the days of Elizabeth. We have now to examine some of its results on domestic affairs, on Parliament, the laws, and the system of government.

The struggle for Parliamentary government—that is, the struggle carried on by the nation for the control of its own affairs through its representatives in Parliament—had been going on ever since the accession of James the First. This struggle had now ended in the victory of Parliament over the Crown.

The civil war of 1642 and the revolution of 1649 were warnings which Charles the Second took to heart. Through-

out his reign he frequently yielded to the wishes of the nation—for instance, in giving up his ministers, in withdrawing the Declaration of Indulgence, and even in his foreign policy. Thus, though he was anything but a good king, he avoided the mistakes which had cost his father his crown and his life.

James the Second was less wise, and his bigotry and obstinacy brought on the Revolution of 1688. The lesson taught by that event did not need to be repeated. When William the Third was placed on the throne, it was on condition that he should observe the principles laid down in the Declaration of Right. He kept his word, and his successors have generally followed his example.

After Parliament had made the Declaration into a law of the land (which it did in 1689), the monarchy could no longer be called absolute, it was clearly a limited monarchy. Parliament fixed the regular revenue of the sovereign at £1,200,000, which was not enough even for the ordinary expenditure in time of peace. By controlling all taxation, and by enacting that the taxes voted should be spent only on certain definite objects (this was called “appropriation of supply”), they could prevent the sovereign from carrying out any policy to which they might be opposed.

The establishment of what is called “ministerial responsibility” was not less important than the control of taxation, as a check upon the crown. Parliament had shown, by the punishment of Strafford, Clarendon, Danby, and many others, that no minister could escape the consequences of his actions. It was therefore no longer possible for the king to find any one who would carry out his orders against the will of the nation expressed in Parliament.

Finally, the necessity of getting the taxes voted annually, as well as the fear of offending the nation, obliged the sovereign to call Parliament together regularly. From 1688 onwards, Parliaments have therefore been summoned every year. Thus Parliamentary government was established. And in Parliament it was the House of Commons which, having the control of taxation, became ever more and more important.

But members of Parliament are, naturally, not all of one way of thinking. They were divided, after the Revolution, into the two great parties of Whigs and Tories. The main difference between them was, as we have already seen, that the Whigs supported the authority of Parliament, while the Tories upheld that of the Crown. The commercial classes and the Nonconformists were on the side of the Whigs, the country gentry and the church party, generally speaking, were Tory. The nobility was at this time almost equally divided, but after the Revolution the Whigs had a slight majority in the House of Lords, and this majority tended for some time to increase.

Wishing to combine Whigs and Tories in his favour, William at first chose his ministers from both parties, but before long it became evident that men of such different opinions could not work well together. Also, as the House of Commons made its power more and more felt, it was perceived that the government would be more easily carried on if ministers were chosen from that party which had a majority in the Lower House.

It was the Earl of Sunderland, we are told, who first advised William, in 1693, to act on this principle. William was the more readily persuaded, because, though he liked Tory principles better than those of the Whigs, he found the Whigs ready to support him in carrying on the war. The Tories were opposed to the war, because it was fought against James, whom many of them still regarded as their lawful king.

Now William considered it the chief business of his life to beat Louis the Fourteenth. He therefore accepted Sunderland's advice, and gradually changed his ministry, until at last, by the year 1696, when there was a strong Whig majority in the House of Commons, the ministry too had become entirely Whig. This was the beginning of "party government," as it is called—that is, government by members of the party which has the majority in Parliament.

Several other great questions were dealt with on Whig principles during William's reign. The Toleration Act (1689)



Glencoe By T B McDonald, In the National Gallery of Scotland (by permission of the Royal Scottish Academy)

gave Protestant Nonconformists the right of worshipping as they thought fit. But the Test Act was not repealed, and thus they were still by law excluded from office and power.

The Mutiny Act (1689) enabled the commanders of the army to maintain military discipline by inflicting penalties more severe than those allowed by the ordinary law. But this Act was only passed for a year, and it has ever since been enacted annually. Now an army cannot be kept together without discipline, and thus the existence of a standing army was made to depend upon the will of Parliament.

The Triennial Act (1694) ordered that Parliament should meet at least once every three years, and that no single Parliament should last for more than three years, thus securing that the opinion of the nation should be frequently consulted. In 1695 the law establishing a censorship of the press came to an end, and was not renewed. Henceforward, therefore, the press was free. Lastly, in 1696, an Act was passed which altered trials for treason in such a way that accused persons were treated more fairly than before. These great statutes, taken together, produced a radical change in the system of government.

23. Ireland, Scotland, and India : the Union—1689-1714.

WHILE England was making rapid advances in consequence of the Revolution, no similar growth was observable in Ireland. Indeed, that unfortunate country was, in some respects, worse off than she had ever been before.

The Treaty of Limerick (1691) had promised to Roman Catholics such toleration as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles the Second, while the Irish who submitted to William were to be allowed to retain their estates. But these promises were not observed. Roman Catholics were now excluded—by an Act of the English Parliament (1692)—from sitting in the

Parliament at Dublin, and the Protestant party, thus made supreme, sadly abused its power

Several penal laws were passed against the Romanists. They were excluded from all offices, they were forbidden to keep schools, to acquire property in land, or to intermarry with Protestants. Thus religious toleration entirely disappeared.

The land question was dealt with in a similar spirit. Owing to the rebellions, reconquests, and confiscations of the last fifty years, rights to land had become much confused. Of this uncertainty full use was made, and great quantities of land were taken from native possessors by what was called process of law, but was really legalized robbery. Thus Limerick became known in Ireland as the "city of the broken treaty."

At the same time, everything was done to keep back Irish trade and agriculture. The woollen manufacture was crushed by the imposition of a heavy duty on Irish goods exported to England, while their export to any other country was absolutely prohibited (1699). The Lord Lieutenant seldom lived in Ireland, and the government at Dublin Castle was idle and corrupt. Ireland was in fact treated like a conquered country, which was not even worth the trouble of governing well.

The condition of Scotland was widely different. The religious question was at length laid to rest. The Westminster Confession of Faith, setting forth the essential doctrines of Calvin, to which the great majority of the nation were deeply attached, was adopted by Parliament (1690), and the Presbyterian form of church government was re-established. There was at first no thought of tolerating any other form of creed, but after a time freedom of worship was allowed to all Protestants.

In the Scottish Parliament, changes were made which reduced the influence of the crown, and the number of borough members was increased. An Act "against wrongous imprisonment" was passed, which gave to Scotsmen the same right to a fair and speedy trial which Englishmen had under the Habeas Corpus Act. Finally, in 1696, an Education Act was carried,

establishing schools in every parish, which made Scotland the best educated country in Europe.

One of the chief results of the Revolution in Scotland was the rapid development of trade. For the last century and a half the Scottish people had devoted themselves chiefly to the defence of their religion. Now that the "Kirk" was at length secure, they threw themselves with equal energy into industry and commerce.

But at first they were at a great disadvantage in the competition with England. They had no colonies, and no shipping to speak of, while they were excluded from any share in the trade which England carried on with her colonies or with foreign countries. It was, therefore, in order to create a foreign trade for Scotland that a Scotsman named Paterson founded the Darien Company in 1695.

Paterson thought that, by settling on the Isthmus of Panama, the Company would get command of the trade in the Pacific Ocean, and thus combine the East and the West. But two expeditions sent out in 1698 and 1699 failed, partly owing to the unhealthiness of the country, the want of means, and insufficient preparation, partly through the hostility of the Spaniards, to whom the isthmus belonged. William the Third, who was at that time very anxious not to offend Spain, refused to help the settlers, who perished miserably almost to a man (1700).

This caused great indignation in Scotland, and Scotsmen began loudly to demand either a full share in English trade, or separation from England. There were also political grounds of discontent. Before the Revolution, the Scots did not dislike sharing a king with England, for he was not controlled by the English Parliament. Now, however, that body had obtained so much power over the king that it could make him attend to its wishes, not only in England, but in Scotland too.

Many people in Scotland began, therefore, to think it would be best to have a king of their own. To avoid this, William the Third had been anxious to bring about a complete union, and in accordance with his wishes a joint-commission from the two nations met in 1702 to discuss terms. But the English

would not admit the Scots to a share of trade, and the commission came to nothing

The Scottish Parliament now passed an Act of Security (1703), providing that on the death of Queen Anne, who then sat on the throne of both countries, the King of England should not reign in Scotland, unless equality in trade were first granted. The English Parliament, on its side, passed several hostile Acts, and even pretended to prepare for war. But reasonable men on both sides saw that a union was better than war or separation, and they therefore came to terms.

Another commission met in 1706. The English gave way on the question of trade, and little difficulty was made on other points. When the scheme of union appeared, it was violently opposed, especially in Scotland, but at length it passed both Parliaments, and became law in 1707.

Henceforward the two countries were under one Crown and one Parliament, natives of each country having equal rights in every respect. Scottish law and the Scottish Church were maintained intact. Forty-five Scottish members took their seats in the joint House of Commons, and sixteen elected Scottish peers in the House of Lords. Thus the old division between England and Scotland ceased, and a union was established which has been fruitful of blessings to both countries.

About the same time a somewhat similar union strengthened our power in India. A new East India Company had been started in 1698, which endeavoured in all sorts of ways to drive the old Company from the field, and to obtain exclusive control of Indian trade. The rivalry of the two Companies was so injurious to British interests in India that, in 1700, William the Third advised them to unite. They were at first very unwilling to do so, but at last they consented, and the union between them was sanctioned by Act of Parliament in 1702, and completed in 1708. Considering the greatness of the work which the united East India Company afterwards performed in building up our Indian Empire, this union will appear scarcely less important than that between England and Scotland effected a year before.

24. William III. and the Spanish Succession—1697-1701.

ALTHOUGH William the Third had done so much for England, he was never popular with his British subjects. He was cold and unsocial, took no interest in party disputes, and preferred Dutchmen to Englishmen—which, after all, was only natural. His wife, Queen Mary, on the contrary, was much beloved, and her death, in 1694, was a great blow to William.

His later years were also marred by increasing ill-health, and by the opposition which he met with in Parliament. Not only was the army cut down first to 10,000, and afterwards to 7,000 men, much against William's wishes, but he was compelled to send away his favourite Dutch Guards, an act which nearly drove him to resign the crown.

In 1700 he was obliged to withdraw some grants of Irish land which he had made to his Dutch followers. The House of Commons, in which there was now a Tory majority, also forced the king to dismiss Lord Somers, a leading Whig, and one of his staunchest supporters. But what showed more clearly than anything else the power of Parliament over the crown was the Act of Settlement, passed in 1701.

As William and Mary had no children, the crown would naturally pass, on William's death, to Mary's younger sister Anne, who was married to Prince George of Denmark. Anne had several children, but they all died young. It was therefore arranged by the Act of Settlement that on Anne's death the crown should pass to Sophia, wife of the Elector of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James the First, and to her descendants, being of the Protestant religion.

Thus the principle that the nation could choose its own sovereign was again asserted. The Act, however, went beyond this, and provided that in future the king should not leave the kingdom without consent of Parliament, that no foreigner should sit in Privy Council or in Parliament, that the king's

pardon should not protect any one from impeachment by the Commons, and that the judges (who could hitherto be removed by the sovereign) should henceforward hold office for life. These and other provisions of the Act of Settlement closely limited the power of the crown.

But, while Parliament thus asserted its authority at home, the conduct of foreign affairs was still left in William's hands, and towards the end of his reign he had a very difficult question to settle. Charles the Second, King of Spain, was dying without direct heirs, and no one knew what would become of his vast dominions. These consisted of Spain, the Spanish Netherlands (now Belgium), and a large part of Italy, besides the Spanish colonies in America and the West Indies.

The chief claimants to the "Spanish succession," as it was called, were Louis the Fourteenth and the Emperor Leopold, both of whom were connected by marriage and descent with the Spanish house, and Joseph, a Bavarian prince descended from a former king of Spain. It was William's great aim to prevent the Spanish heritage—especially the Netherlands and the American colonies—from falling under the power of France, and Louis, it must be allowed, was not at first unduly eager to press his claim. In 1698 William and Louis made the first "Partition Treaty," by which the great bulk of the Spanish dominions was to go to Joseph, the son of the Duke of Bavaria. The Dauphin (eldest son of the French king) and the Archduke Charles (second son of the Emperor) were to share the Spanish dominions in Italy between them.

Unfortunately the Bavarian prince died in 1699, and in 1700 a second "Partition Treaty" was made, giving all the Spanish territories in Italy to France, and the rest of the Spanish dominions to the Archduke Charles. But neither the Spanish king nor the Spanish nation wished to see their possessions divided, so Charles the Second made a will, leaving the whole to Philip, Duke of Anjou, a younger grandson of Louis the Fourteenth. Louis accepted this will, and on the death of Charles the Second, in November 1700, the Duke of Anjou became King of Spain as Philip the Fifth.

294 William III. and the Spanish Succession

Now, it was quite possible that some day Philip might also succeed to the throne of France, but, in any case, the passing of the vast Spanish Empire into the hands of a French prince was a great danger to Europe, and especially to Great Britain. It was to meet this danger that William formed what was called the "Grand Alliance" (1701), by which Great Britain, Austria, and Holland combined against France and Spain. Other powers afterwards joined the league. Their first intention was, not to drive Philip from Spain, but to force Louis to pledge himself that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united, and to secure the Italian territories and the Spanish Netherlands for the Archduke Charles. But these objects afterwards gave way, as we shall see to wider schemes.

For the war which was at hand Great Britain was better prepared, financially, than she had been on any previous occasion. This was chiefly due to three things. In 1694 the Bank of England was founded by a combination of wealthy commercial men, acting under the advice of Paterson, the originator of the Darien Scheme. The bank, owing to the great riches and high character of those who joined in it, formed a sort of reservoir of national wealth, whence the government could borrow for national purposes.

Secondly, about the same time, the National Debt was established, that is, the government borrowed a large sum of money for the war, without undertaking to pay it back at any particular time, but promising to pay interest on the money lent. As the nation had now got control over the government, men were no longer afraid to lend money to the state, and were glad to employ it in so profitable a way.

Lastly, in 1696, the old coinage, which was worn out, was called in, and a new coinage was issued. This was a very difficult and troublesome task, but it was a great blessing when it was done, for trade and commerce became much easier and safer when good money took the place of bad. All these things enabled the nation to apply its increasing wealth to the purposes of war, and contributed largely to secure the victory in the great struggle which was about to take place.

25. Marlborough and his Campaigns.

1701-1713.

THE nation was in no hurry to fight with France, but two events made war inevitable. Early in 1701 Louis took possession of the Spanish fortresses in the Netherlands, thus practically annexing that country to France. Next, when James the Second, who had lived in France since his expulsion from Ireland, died (September 1701), Louis at once recognized his son as King of England.

This boy, who was born just before the Revolution, was believed by many not to be James's son at all, and, besides, he had been excluded from the throne by Parliament. The insult raised a storm of indignation throughout the country, and Parliament at once voted money and men for the war. But before William could take command, he fell from his horse, broke his collar-bone, and soon afterwards died (March 1702).

He was succeeded by his sister-in-law, Anne, younger daughter of James the Second. Anne was a good-natured but weak woman, at this time devotedly attached to Lady Marlborough, whose husband thus became the most influential man in the kingdom.

John Churchill, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Marlborough, had first risen to favour under James the Second, but he had gone over to William in 1688, and had helped to reduce Ireland in 1691. Afterwards, he intrigued with James, and, on this being discovered, William dismissed him from all his offices (1692). A little later, however, William, who recognized his splendid abilities, restored him to favour (1694), and finally appointed him to command the army in the Netherlands.

It thus fell to Marlborough to carry out William's plans. He was a shifty, covetous, and selfish man, but he was one of the ablest generals that have ever lived, an astute diplomatist, of infinite patience and an equable temper. In the war which

now began (1702) he was greatly aided by Prince Eugene, a member of the house of Savoy, who commanded the Austrian army. Eugene was an excellent general, and unselfish enough to work in harmony with Marlborough.

Soon after the outbreak of war, a fresh treaty was made between the allies, by which the objects of the war were altered. It was agreed (1703) that Philip should be expelled from Spain, and the Archduke Charles placed upon the Spanish throne. It was also arranged that Great Britain and Holland should retain any of the Spanish colonies which they might capture in the war, and that our merchants should trade freely with Spain and her possessions. This change of plan strengthened the Grand Alliance, for both Great Britain and the Emperor had now more to gain from the war.

In the first two years of the war little was done beyond the taking of some fortresses, but in 1704 Marlborough dealt his first great blow. The Duke of Bavaria was in alliance with France, and through his dominions on the Danube it was easy for the French to march straight on the Emperor's capital, Vienna. The French and Bavarian commanders agreed to join for this purpose, and Marlborough resolved to prevent it.

To do this he had to march right across Germany, from the lower Rhine to the Danube, while his friend Eugene had to cross the Alps from Italy. But both these difficulties were overcome. Marlborough and Eugene joined hands, and utterly defeated the French and Bavarians under Marshal Tallard at Blenheim, on the Upper Danube (August 1704). It was a decisive victory. Vienna was saved, the French were driven out of Germany, and the Duke of Bavaria was compelled to make peace.

In the same year the capture of Gibraltar by Admiral Rooke greatly increased the British power in the Mediterranean. In 1705 little of importance took place, but in 1706 Marlborough defeated the French at Ramillies—a victory which made him master of most of Flanders—while in the same year Eugene won a battle at Turin, which drove the French from northern Italy.

Meanwhile the war had been going on in Spain, from which the Archduke Charles tried, with British aid, to expel his rival, Philip the Fifth. At first he had some success. The great port of Barcelona was taken in 1705, and next year the allies entered Madrid. But the Spaniards themselves were strongly in favour of King Philip, and against their stubborn resistance no real progress could be made.

In 1708 Marlborough and Eugene won another great victory over the French at Oudenarde, and took Lille, on the French frontier. In the Mediterranean the supremacy of the British fleet was shown by the capture of Minorca, with its splendid harbour, Port Mahon. On the other hand, the allies were badly beaten in Spain, at the battle of Almanza.

Next year (1709) Marlborough defeated the French at Malplaquet, near the French frontier, but the victory was dearly bought with human lives. This was Marlborough's last success. A change of feeling was taking place in England, which eventually brought the war to a close.

Anne, who was a Tory at heart, began, like William, by appointing a ministry chosen from both parties. But Marlborough soon saw that the war would best be carried on by a Whig ministry, because that party was more in favour of war than the Tories. He therefore threw himself on the side of the Whigs, and his influence, supported by a Whig majority in the House of Commons, led to the formation of a purely Whig ministry in 1708.

Many people, however, were now beginning to fear that Marlborough was growing too powerful. The nation, also, was getting tired of the war, while the queen began to resent the Duchess of Marlborough's domineering temper. Finally, the Whigs caused an outburst of popular indignation by impeaching and punishing Dr Sacheverell, a silly but harmless clergyman who had preached a sermon full of violent Tory doctrines (1710).

Encouraged by the growing unpopularity of the Whigs, and persuaded by a new favourite, Mrs Masham, who was a friend of Harley, the Tory leader, Anne dismissed her Whig

ministers (1710), and appointed Tories in their places Harley (afterwards Earl of Oxford) and St John (afterwards Lord Bolingbroke) were at the head of this ministry. A Tory majority in the new Parliament (1710) confirmed the queen's decision.

Meanwhile Louis had more than once offered terms of peace, which had been rejected. But the war in Spain was going against the allies, who, by the end of 1710, were almost driven out of that country. In America, the war with France and Spain had been carried on mainly by the colonists. They made several attempts to conquer Nova Scotia and Florida, but were unsuccessful, and no great advantage seemed likely to be gained in that quarter. The ministers, therefore, set about making peace in earnest, and in March 1713 peace was signed at Utrecht.

By this treaty Great Britain acquired Gibraltar and Minorca, with Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, and a limited right of trade—including the trade in slaves—with the Spanish colonies. It was agreed that France and Spain should never be united under one sovereign. Sicily (exchanged in 1720 for Sardinia) was given to the Duke of Savoy, Naples, Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands, to Austria.

Many people in this country were sorely dissatisfied with the terms of peace, on the ground that Great Britain ought to have got more advantage from her victories. But we must not forget that the original objects with which the war had been undertaken were, on the whole, attained. Moreover, the gains of Great Britain were considerable, and they gave her a leading position in the race for colonial and commercial supremacy. The Peace of Utrecht is one of the most important steps in the making of the Empire.

26. George I. and Walpole.

1714-1727.

ONE reason which made the Tory ministry anxious to conclude a peace with France was that they, or some of them, wished to prepare for a restoration of the Stuarts on the death of Queen Anne. But Oxford and Bolingbroke were jealous of each other, and quarrelled so much that Oxford was dismissed from office. The Whig lords managed to get Lord Shrewsbury (a Whig) appointed Lord Treasurer in his place. This broke up the Tory ministry, and thus thwarted their schemes.

When Anne died (August 1714), George, Elector of Hanover, son of Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and great-grandson of James the First, was proclaimed king, and quietly succeeded to the throne. As it was the Whigs who had brought him in, he naturally appointed a Whig ministry. The nation approved the change by sending up a strong Whig majority to the new Parliament, which met early in 1715. It was in order to keep this majority as long as possible that the Septennial Act was passed (1716), by which the possible duration of Parliaments was prolonged to seven years. This is still the law.

Now, though the Tory party as a whole did not wish for a Stuart restoration, there was a violent faction which was ready to bring back the Stuart line by force. This faction received the name of Jacobites, from *Jacobus*, the Latin for James. In 1715 a Jacobite rebellion broke out in Scotland under the Earl of Mar, and an insurrection took place in the north of England under Lord Derwentwater and a gentleman named Forster.

A drawn battle was fought in Scotland at Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane (November), but the English insurgents were defeated at Preston. James Stuart, the Pretender, as he was generally called—his followers called him James the Third—

landed in Scotland in December, but disappointed every one by his stupidity and want of enterprise. Early in 1716 he went back to France, and the rebellion came to an end.

But Jacobite plots still went on. In 1722 another conspiracy in favour of the Pretender was discovered. It was called Atterbury's plot, from Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, who took a leading part in it. These futile attempts to upset the Hanoverian line cast discredit on the Tory party, and made the Whigs stronger than ever. The Whigs thus obtained a lead which they held for nearly fifty years.

The chief source of their power was the support of the king, who knew that they were on his side, while he could not trust the Tories. The ministers, who were always chosen from among the Whigs, could reward their followers by making the king give them offices and pensions. Thus it was much more profitable at this time to be a Whig than to be a Tory, and this made all the difference to a great many people.

Moreover, the nobility was at this time mostly Whig. Between 1714 and 1760 there was always a strong Whig majority in the House of Lords. The wealthy nobles had also great power over the House of Commons, because, by their influence in the smaller boroughs—many of which belonged entirely to great landowners—they could get the electors to send to Parliament any one they chose.

The great merchants, too, and the commercial classes generally, who were strong in the large towns, were Whig, because they approved of the Revolution, and had gained by the wars which followed it. The Nonconformists were on the same side, because the Tories hated dissenters, and would have excluded them, if they could, from all share of power. This alliance of the nobles, the merchants, and the dissenters was so strong that only a handful of Tories could get into the House of Commons.

Meanwhile the king's power gave way more and more. To begin with, George the First was a foreigner. He could not speak English, and he knew nothing of English affairs. He therefore found it useless to attend "cabinet councils"—

as the meetings of the more important ministers now began to be called. From this time forward the cabinet always met without the king, who thus lost the chief means of controlling his ministers.

But as the king ceased to lead, the Prime Minister became more and more powerful. For some time past—ever since the Restoration, at least—it had been customary that one great officer of the crown should take the lead of the rest, and such a person was coming to be called Prime Minister. Such were Clarendon and Danby in the reign of Charles the Second, Godolphin and Harley in the reign of Anne.

But the first real Prime Minister was Sir Robert Walpole, who may be said to have ruled Great Britain from 1721 to 1742. Walpole was a plain country gentleman from Norfolk, who rose to power by his political ability. He was a big, coarse man, but he had great skill in finance, an unusual share of common sense, and wonderful tact in managing men.

He was a staunch Whig, and first held a high office in 1708. On the accession of George the First he became Paymaster of the Forces. In 1717 he quarrelled with Stanhope, who was Secretary of State, and had to retire for a time.

While out of office, Walpole acted wisely in opposing the Peerage Bill (1719). This Bill proposed to take away from the crown the power of creating new peers. Walpole saw that this would make the peerage into an oligarchy, independent both of the king and of the House of Commons, and would some time or other lead to a disastrous quarrel between the two Houses. It was largely owing to his arguments that the Bill was rejected. Soon after this he returned to office.

In 1720 an event occurred which made Walpole very popular. This was the "South Sea Bubble." A commercial undertaking, called the South Sea Company, was formed, in which every one who had money was so anxious to take part that the value of the shares rose from £100 to £1,000. But the company was soon found to be a fraud, and the shares fell as rapidly as they had risen. Thousands of persons who

had paid high for then shares were ruined, and widespread distress was caused. Walpole, who was now Chancellor of the Exchequer, succeeded in making an arrangement which saved all that could be saved from the wreck, and this won for him the confidence of the nation.

Henceforward Walpole was the first man in the government. He had great influence over the king, and he was followed by a large majority in the House of Commons. His enemies said that he won this majority by bribery. There can be little doubt that he used bribes largely, but the chief source of his power was that he was generally believed to know better than any one else what was good for the country.

27. Walpole and George II

I 727-I 742.

GEORGE THE FIRST died in 1727, and was succeeded by his son, George the Second. The new king, like his father, had been born abroad, but, unlike him, he could speak English. He was not clever, but he was honest, and he had the good sense to take advice of his wife, Queen Caroline, an excellent and able woman.

At the beginning of his reign, George dismissed Walpole, but he soon found that he could not do without him. He therefore recalled Walpole to office, and trusted him ever afterwards. With Queen Caroline Walpole was on the best of terms, so that his influence became even stronger than it had been before. He now fully established his control over the other ministers.

He had already (1724) got rid of Lord Carteret, Secretary of State, who opposed him in his foreign policy. After this his only rival in the ministry was his own brother-in-law, Lord Townshend. Unable to agree with Walpole, Townshend retired in 1730. Thus the unity of the cabinet, and its depend-

ence on the Prime Minister rather than on the crown, were established

Walpole's domestic policy was conservative. The Tories, when in power under Anne, had passed some severe Acts against dissenters, punishing them for evasions of the Test Act, and forbidding them to keep schools. These Acts were repealed in 1718. From this time forward the Test Act was habitually evaded by dissenters, who, in spite of it, held many public offices. Walpole allowed these evasions, but he refused to repeal the Test Act, knowing what a storm such a proposal would raise among the Tories.

No important political legislation took place during Walpole's term of office. It was a time of political repose, welcome to the country after the tumults of the previous thirty years. But great advance was made in trade and industry, and Walpole encouraged this advance by his wise financial policy. He was the first British statesman who perceived the advantages arising from freedom of trade.

He made a great reform in the "tariff"—that is, the list of taxes imposed as customs-duties on goods imported into or exported from the country. His principle was to take the duties off raw materials imported from abroad, thus the materials became cheaper, and the cost of manufacture was lessened. At the same time, he lowered the duties on articles of British make exported to foreign countries, which enabled British manufacturers to sell at a lower rate than foreigners. Thus trade and industry were encouraged.

Nor did he neglect the colonies. He passed an Act (1730) enabling the North American Provinces to export rice to foreign countries, provided it was carried in British ships. Later on he allowed the West India Islands to export sugar on similar conditions. By these means he not only encouraged colonial trade but British shipping, and also British manufactures, because the colonies, as they became richer, bought more of our goods.

Walpole also started a plan (1733) for stopping the smuggling of wine and tobacco, and the frauds of custom-house

officers How he meant to do this is not very clear, but he proposed to substitute an "excise"—that is, an inland tax—for the "customs" hitherto levied at the ports Now the "excise," which was already levied on beer, spirits, and other articles of common consumption, was a tax universally detested The thought of adding to it caused such an outburst of popular anger that Walpole withdrew his proposal

In his relations with foreign powers, Walpole did his best to maintain peace, and in this he succeeded for many years Louis the Fourteenth died in 1715, and his successor, Louis the Fifteenth, was a mere child The Duke of Orleans, who was regent for the young king, was friendly to Great Britain, and Cardinal Fleury, who was afterwards the chief minister of Louis, tried to maintain the same policy

A short war with Spain, whose rulers wanted to recover Gibraltar and their lost dominions in Italy, broke out in 1718, but ended in 1720 Another war, due to the same cause, began in 1725, but Walpole, by making an alliance with France and Prussia, prevented its becoming serious, and peace was made in 1729 Soon afterwards, however, a change occurred, which led eventually to a revival of the old hostility between Great Britain and France

Since the Peace of Utrecht, mutual jealousy had kept France and Spain apart But about 1733 they began to draw together again, and what was afterwards known as the "Family Compact"—that is, an alliance between the two branches of the Bourbon family reigning in France and Spain—was made By this Compact (which was kept very secret) France received important commercial privileges from Spain, and Spain was encouraged to act in a hostile way towards Great Britain

The trade with Spain and the Spanish colonies, which had hitherto been mainly in British hands, now passed into the hands of France The Spaniards also insisted on searching British ships on the high seas, in order to stop their smuggling goods into the Spanish colonies, and they disputed certain rights which British traders had hitherto possessed in Central America All this caused great irritation in England, and

public feeling was deeply moved by the story of a certain Captain Jenkins, who declared that the Spaniards had boarded his ship and cut off his ear.

Thus Walpole was at last driven to declare war against Spain (1739). This he did sorely against his will, for he knew of the Family Compact, and felt sure that a war with Spain would sooner or later land us in a war with France as well. But before this took place he had fallen from power.

Walpole had no taste for war, and the conduct of the war did not prosper in his hands. He thus lost the confidence of the commercial classes, in whose interest the war had been made. He had also offended many persons by his overbearing demeanour, and a new generation was growing up—nicknamed by Walpole “the Boys”—who were jealous of his exclusive tenure of power.

Thus his majority in the House of Commons gradually melted away, and in 1742 he resigned office, retiring to the House of Lords as the Earl of Orford. After his fall his enemies tried to impeach him on various charges, but failed entirely. His work had been to prepare his country, by twenty years of sober and peaceful government, for the great struggle which now lay before her.

28. The War of the Austrian Succession—1740-1748.

THE outbreak of the war with Spain nearly coincided with the beginning of a great struggle on the Continent, known as the “War of the Austrian Succession.” The Emperor, Charles the Sixth, having no son, left his great dominions to his daughter, Maria Theresa. To ensure her peaceful succession, he had persuaded the different powers to sanction this arrangement. But no sooner was Charles dead (1740) than most of these powers broke their word.

The attack on Maria Theresa was led by Frederick the Second, the young King of Prussia—hitherto a state of no great importance—and Charles Albert, Duke of Bavaria. Both these princes claimed parts of the Austrian dominions, and they were joined by France, Spain, and other powers. But the only one who had much success was the King of Prussia, who soon conquered the large and important province of Silesia (1741).

Meanwhile the war between Great Britain and Spain had been going on, chiefly in the colonies. The British admirals had at first some success in the New World. Porto Bello, on the isthmus of Panama, was taken (1739), but attacks on other Spanish ports failed, mainly owing to disagreements between the commanders of the fleet and those of the land forces. Thus, when Walpole fell (1742), the British arms had met with but little success.

Walpole was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Wilmington, a dull man, who soon gave place to Henry Pelham, brother of the Duke of Newcastle, one of the Secretaries of State. The new government soon found it necessary to interfere in Continental affairs.

Not only was George the Second anxious for the safety of his dominions in Hanover, but the country at large was jealous of any increase of French power, especially at the expense of Austria, our old ally. Moreover, France and Spain renewed the Family Compact in 1743, and as we were at war with Spain, this was almost equal to a declaration of war against us by France. So in 1743 troops were sent to Germany, and joined a German army on the Main.

At their head, George the Second won the battle of Dettingen against the French (June 1743). It was the last battle at which an English king appeared in person. Next year (1744) war was formally declared against France. Soon afterwards the French invaded the Austrian Netherlands. A British force was sent to defend them, and fought the battle of Fontenoy (May 1745), which was won by the French.

Meanwhile the French had tried to deal us a heavy blow nearer home. In 1744 the "Young Pretender," Charles



"Bonnie Prince Charlie" By John Pettie, R.A.



THE "FORTY FIVE"
Route of Prince Charles shown thus

Edward, grandson of James the Second, left France with a French fleet to invade Great Britain. The fleet was driven back by storms, but next year Charles Edward renewed his attempt. He landed in Scotland (July 1745), raised the Highland clans, and marched on Edinburgh, where he was welcomed by many of the people.

In September he surprised the royal troops under General Cope, at Prestonpans, in East Lothian, and entirely defeated them. This success brought many to his side, and he determined on invading England. He crossed the Border, and advanced to Derby (December 5). There was a panic in London, and the king prepared to leave England. But the country did not rise in favour of the Pretender, the royal troops closed round him, and he was obliged to retreat.

In January 1746 he won another battle at Falkirk, but at Culloden Moor, near Inverness (April 16), he was utterly defeated by the Duke of Cumberland, the king's brother. The rebellion was now over. A cruel vengeance was taken on the insurgents. Charles Edward wandered for months up and down the Highlands, with a price upon his head.

The story of his wanderings forms one of the most romantic episodes in British history. He was sometimes in the islands off the western coast of Scotland, sometimes on the mainland. Many glens and caverns are shown where he is said to have taken refuge from his pursuers. Hundreds of persons knew of his places of concealment, but though the reward offered for information was very large, he was never betrayed, and at last he got back to France.

Meanwhile the war on the Continent had been dragging on. Frederick, having secured Silesia, made peace with Maria Theresa (1745), and without his assistance the French and their allies could make no progress. Charles Albert was now dead, and the new Duke of Bavaria had made peace, while Maria Theresa's husband, Francis, Duke of Lorraine, had been elected Emperor (1745). Thus, although she had lost Silesia, she was in a better position than at the beginning of the war.

At sea, the advantage for some time lay with neither.

party. A quarter of a century of peace had rendered naval discipline slack, and prevented the British admirals from learning their business. The first important action, which was fought off Toulon, in 1744, was a drawn battle. The dissatisfaction caused by this failure led to greater efforts, and in 1747 British naval supremacy was re-established by the victories which Anson and Hawke won off Cape Finisterre and Ushant.

In the colonies the honours were fairly divided. In America the English colonists, with some little aid from home, took the island of Cape Breton (1745), and defeated an attempt on the part of the French to recapture it next year. In India, on the other hand, we lost Madras (1746), and we should have been driven out of Southern India, if Duplex, the commander of the French on land, had been able to agree with his colleague, Labouïdonnaïs, who commanded the fleet.

By 1748 all parties were tired of the struggle, and peace was made at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). The island of Cape Breton was exchanged for Madras, and other conquests were given up, except Silesia, which Prussia retained. Austria was saved from the destruction which at first seemed imminent, and Great Britain, though she gained no territory, retained her supremacy at sea. France won nothing by the war, but was weakened by the great expenses which it had entailed.

29. Pitt and the King : Outbreak of the Seven Years' War—1746-1757.

DURING the War of the Austrian Succession there had been more than one struggle between the king and his ministers. Pelham and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, having driven Lord Carteret out of the cabinet, against the king's wish, attempted to bring in William Pitt, who had led the attack on Carteret. The king refused, and in 1746 the Pelhams, in order to coerce him, resigned.

George thereupon called upon Carteret—now Lord Granville—to form a ministry. But Carteret could get no one to help him and in two days the Pelhams returned to power, bringing Pitt with them. After this, Henry Pelham was Prime Minister till his death, in 1754, when his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, succeeded him.

Another war was now on the point of breaking out. The king tried hard to force the ministers to carry out his views on foreign policy. Pitt was dismissed (1755), returned to office (October 1756), and was again dismissed (April 1757). So obstinate were both king and ministers that the country remained for nearly three months without a government.

But Pitt's popularity was by this time so great that nothing could resist it. In the end the king gave way, and Pitt returned to office (June 1757) as Secretary of State. The Duke of Newcastle was nominally Premier, but the real head of the ministry was Pitt, who retained his position during the rest of George the Second's reign. These struggles were very important, for they showed, more clearly than anything before, that the king had lost the power of choosing his own ministers.

What forced Pitt upon the king was the conviction of the nation that he was the only man who could guide the country through the great conflict which had broken out in 1756. The "Seven Years' War," as it was called, was, like the War of the Austrian Succession, made up of two distinct struggles. There was a naval and colonial war, in which Great Britain was directly interested, and there was a European war, in which she took part in order to hinder France from throwing all her strength into the colonial struggle.

The Treaty of Aachen (1748), though intended to be universal, had been really confined to Europe. France and England were ostensibly at peace, but they carried on in India and America a covert struggle for power, which at length blazed up into open war. In India this struggle went at first much in favour of the French.

Dupleix, the French commander, was a man of great political ability, and especially skilful in managing the natives.

In two of the great native states, Hyderabad and the Carnatic, there was a dispute about the succession. Dupleix contrived to get his own candidates placed on the throne in both cases, and thus practically gained control over the greater part of southern India.

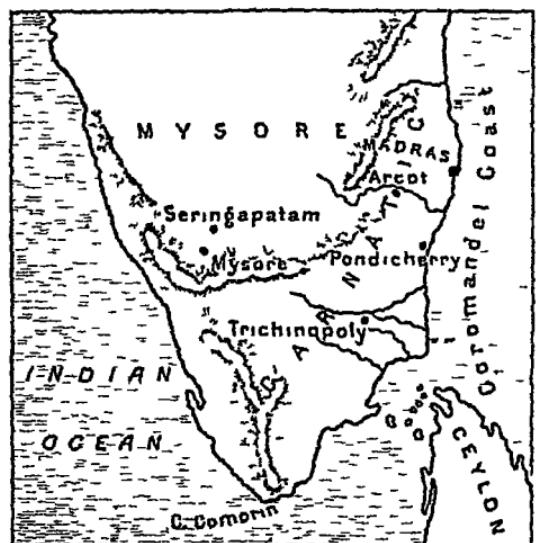
But civil war still went on in the Carnatic, where Chunda Sahib (supported by the French) was besieging Trichinopoly, the last stronghold of his rival, Mohammed Ali. All seemed over, when Robert Clive, a young clerk in the employment of the East India Company, marched with a small force to the relief of Mohammed Ali.

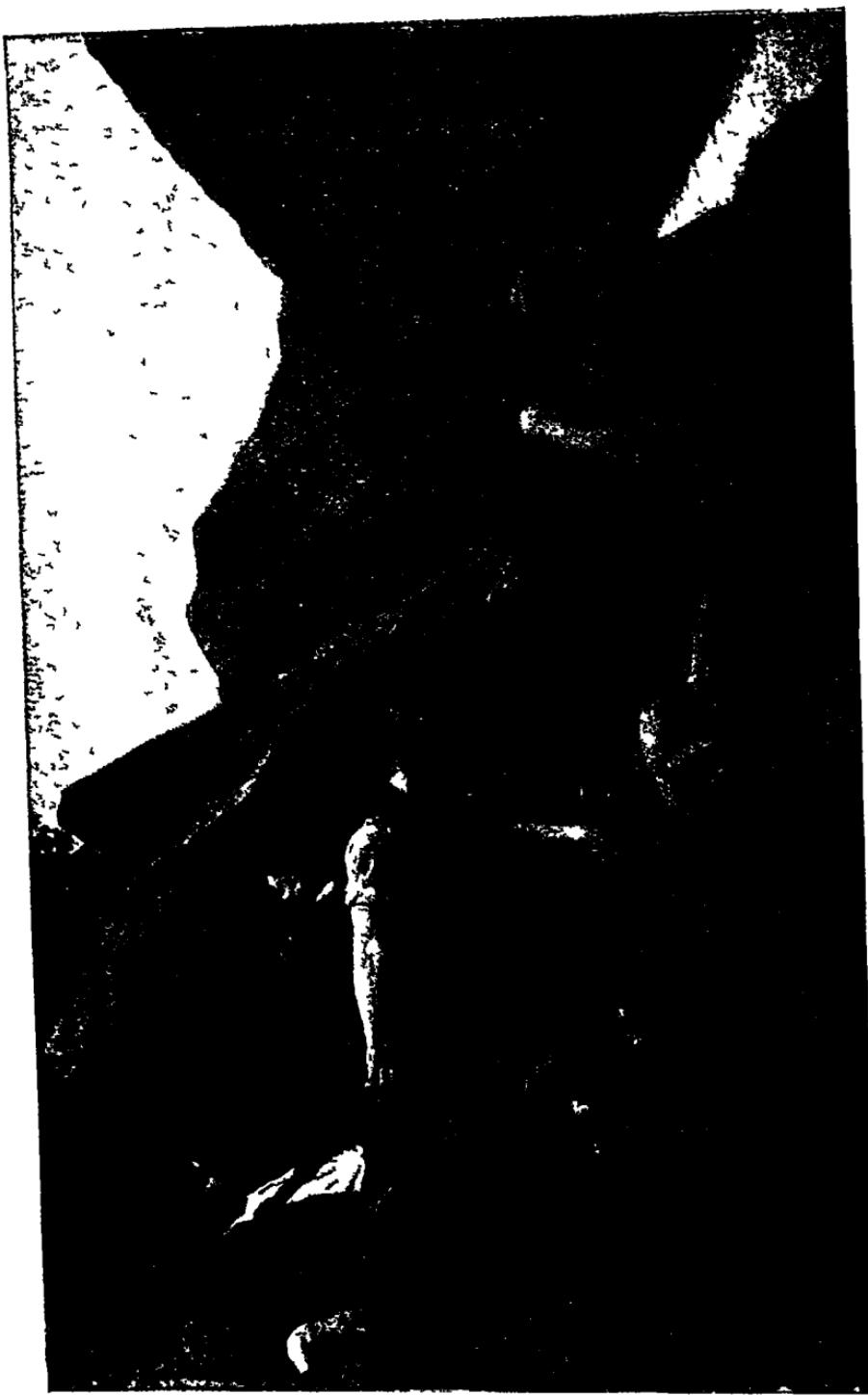
He took and held the town of Arcot, thus drawing Chunda Sahib's forces away from Trichinopoly, and afterwards defeated a large native army at Arnee (1751). This turned the tide against Dupleix, who was recalled to France in 1754. His successor at once made peace.

In North America the British colonies,

scattered along the coast, were in danger of being hemmed in by the French, who held all Canada to the western limit of the great lakes, and had established a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, which they called Louisiana. From Canada they had travelled down the Ohio and the Mississippi to Louisiana, and on this ground they claimed all the land west of the Alleghany Mountains.

This claim the British colonists disputed, because it would have prevented all chance of their expanding westward. In 1754, George Washington was sent across the mountains from Virginia to take possession of the disputed territory. He





A Royal Fugitive By Allan Stewart [Prince Charles Edward Stuart in hiding after Culloden]

built a small fort, which the French took Washington then attacked them, but was beaten, and forced to surrender

Next year (1755) General Braddock was sent with a force of British troops to recover Washington's fort, which the French had strengthened, and called Fort Duquesne. But Braddock blundered into an ambuscade in the woods, and was killed, with almost all his men. Thus the colonial war began.

Meanwhile a great storm was gathering in Europe. Maria Theresa was resolved not to give up Silesia to Frederick without another struggle. She succeeded in persuading Louis the Fifteenth of France to desert the policy which France had followed for more than two hundred years, and to make an alliance with Austria against Prussia. This alliance was joined by Russia and other powers.

It seemed as if Prussia, at that time a small and poor country, could not hold out against so many foes. Her only ally was Great Britain, and from the British Government Prussia got at first only half-hearted assistance. Fortunately for Prussia, her king, Frederick, was a man of the highest courage and resolution, and a general of consummate ability.

Knowing that his enemies were preparing to attack him, he began the war by suddenly occupying Saxony (1756), thus demolishing one of his enemies, and gaining a better position against the rest. Next year he was less fortunate. He invaded Bohemia, but was badly beaten, and driven back to his own country.

At the same time, his only ally, Great Britain, deserted him. The Duke of Cumberland, who commanded in Hanover, was defeated by the French, and made the disgraceful convention of Kloster-Seven, giving up Hanover to France (July 1757). But at this juncture the final accession of Pitt to power in England put a new face on affairs.

30. Pitt and the Seven Years' War.

1756-1761.

THE Seven Years' War, which was to establish the British power in India and America, began very badly for this country. The Duke of Newcastle was quite incapable as a war minister, and under him Great Britain had suffered serious reverses.

In 1755 the French (as we have just seen) had got the better of us in America. Next year they took Minorca, which had been in British hands for fifty years. This was a serious blow, for it deprived us of a splendid harbour, and crippled our power in the Mediterranean. The country was furious against Admiral Byng, who commanded the Mediterranean fleet, because he had failed to save the island. He was brought home, tried, and shot on board his own ship for neglect of duty.

About the same time, Siraj-ud-Dowlah, the native Nawab (or Governor) of Bengal, who was in league with the French, suddenly swooped down on the British settlement at Calcutta. He seized the property of the Company, and shut up 146 British prisoners in a small room about eighteen feet square. After a night of agony passed in this prison, known afterwards as the Black Hole of Calcutta, only twenty-three persons remained alive, the rest had perished from suffocation and thirst.

During his short tenure of office at the beginning of the war (October 1756–April 1757), Pitt was not able to do much to remedy this state of things, but when he finally came back to power, along with the Duke of Newcastle (June 1757), he set to work in earnest. Pitt was the first British statesman who saw clearly the immense importance of colonial expansion. He made it his chief object to secure North America for the British race.

Fortunately for us, France, our great rival, was now fully occupied with the war against Prussia. Pitt saw that the right thing was to keep France employed on the Continent,



Flora Macdonald's Introduction to Prince Charlie By Alexander Johnstone, In the Mappin Art Gallery (By permission of the Corporation of Sheffield)

while Great Britain threw her chief strength into the naval and colonial war His plan was, as he said himself, to "conquer America on the banks of the Elbe." He therefore renewed the alliance with Prussia, paid Frederick a large yearly subsidy, and sent a small army to his assistance, which in 1759 won an important victory over the French at Minden in Westphalia.

Thus Pitt enabled Frederick to weather the storm Many pitched battles were fought, most of which Frederick won But he was sometimes defeated, and once or twice was so nearly driven to despair that he thought of putting an end to his life. Still he struggled on with heroic determination, and at length brought the war to a close without losing an inch of territory

Important as this conflict in Germany was, the struggle that was raging between France and Great Britain in America, in the far East and on the ocean, was of still greater importance in the history of the world Pitt directed the efforts of his countrymen with insight and decision , he picked out the ablest commanders for the army and navy , and he inspired all about him with his own ardent patriotism The result was that everywhere defeat was turned into victory

A great combined attack on the French possessions in America was planned in 1757 There were three chief routes by which an invasion of Canada could be made the western, by way of the Ohio valley and the great lakes , the central, by the Hudson valley, direct upon Montreal , and the eastern, by way of Cape Breton and up the St. Lawrence. All these were tried in 1758

In the west, Washington took Fort Duquesne In the east, General Wolfe—a young officer whom Pitt had placed in command—captured Louisburg and Cape Breton Only the central attack failed the strong fort of Ticonderoga, held by the French commander Montcalm, barred the way In 1759, the triple attack was renewed, and the three divisions of the British forces were to meet in front of Quebec.

But Wolfe was the only one who reached his destination



Death of Wolfe By Benjamin West P R A

and he had to make the attack alone. After a long delay, he crossed the St Lawrence by night, and seized the Heights of Abraham just above Quebec. There a battle was fought (September 1759) which decided the fate of America. Both Wolfe and Montcalm were killed, but the British won the day, and Quebec fell. Next year Montreal was taken, and all Canada thus passed into British hands.

In India our success was equally complete. Early in 1757 Clive went to Bengal to avenge the horrors of the Black Hole, and to recover Calcutta. He soon frightened Suraj-ud-Dowlah into restoring the East India Company to its former position, and then, by seizing the French settlement of Chandernagore, forced him to declare war.

On June 23, 1757, Clive met the Nawab's great army, consisting of about 30,000 native troops and a force of French artillery, on the field of Plassey. He had only 3,000 men, of whom only about a third were Europeans, but he won a great and decisive victory. Next year he drove out the French from the Sirkais, an important territory on the coast, south of Bengal. In 1759 he was attacked by the Dutch, who had settlements in Bengal, but he routed them at the battle of Bidera (November 1759), and thus completely established British supremacy in Bengal.

Meanwhile a severe struggle had been going on in the south. Lally, an able French commander, of Irish origin, met with some success at first, took Fort St David, and laid siege to Madras. He pressed the garrison hard, but the town was saved by the timely arrival of the British fleet (September 1759).

The British now attacked in their turn, and in January 1760 Eyre Coote won the decisive battle of Wandewash against Lally. Early in 1761 the chief French settlement, Pondicheri, fell, and within a short time every French possession in India had been captured. This success was largely due to the fleet, which not only saved Madras, but prevented the French from getting much aid from home.

Nearer home, too, the fleet covered itself with glory. The

French intended to invade England in 1759, but one of their squadrons was beaten and dispersed by Boscawen off Lagos, in southern Spain, and another was defeated by Hawke in Quiberon Bay, on the west coast of France. In this battle Hawke followed the French into the bay, which was full of rocks and shoals, in a heavy gale of wind, and took or drove ashore most of the enemy's fleet. Thus all fear of invasion passed away, and the French Government was disabled from sending assistance by sea to its colonies abroad.



31. The Peace of Paris : Early Years of George III.—1760-1770.

IN October 1760 George the Second died, and was succeeded by his grandson, George the Third. This event produced a great change in affairs. The young king was much under the influence of Lord Bute, whom, soon after his accession, he made a Secretary of State. Both the king and Bute were anxious for peace, while Pitt wished to continue the war.

In 1761 Pitt became aware that France and Spain had renewed the Family Compact, expressly against Great Britain. He therefore proposed to declare war against Spain at once. But Bute and the king were too strong for him. The cabinet refused to follow his advice, and Pitt resigned (October 1761). Soon afterwards Newcastle was also driven from office, and Bute became Prime Minister.

Next year (1762) Bute was forced, in spite of himself, to declare war against Spain. Pitt's plans were carried out, even after his resignation, and his spirit still seemed to pervade all branches of the public service. Martinique and several other West India islands, with Havana, the great port of Cuba, were captured in 1762. In the same year the Philippine Islands, in the East Indies, fell into our hands.

In Germany, Frederick still held his own, for though

Bute had basely withdrawn the assistance which Pitt had given him, this defection was balanced by Russia changing sides. But all parties were now anxious for repose. The Peace of Paris was therefore signed early in 1763.

Though Great Britain restored some important conquests, she retained Canada, Florida, Minorca, several West India islands, and the control of India. Prussia kept Silesia, and ranked henceforward as a great power. Thus the colonial empire of Great Britain, and the present German Empire under Prussian headship, may both be traced, principally, to the triumphs of the Seven Years' War.

We must now turn from this great conflict to consider the domestic affairs of the country during the early years of George the Third. George had a great advantage over his two predecessors, in having been born an Englishman. He was therefore more popular than they had been, and he used this popularity to make himself more powerful. Several circumstances aided him in this attempt.

In the first place, he had been carefully brought up by his mother, the Princess of Wales, to take a lofty view of his sovereign rights. He was resolved to be a king in deed, and not merely in name. Though a man of narrow ideas and limited understanding, he was shrewd, resolute, and industrious. He was also virtuous, and lived a simple life. This not only made people respect him, but enabled him to save money with which to bribe members of Parliament.

The nation was getting tired of the predominance of the great Whig nobles, who had often used their power selfishly, and it was ready to applaud a king whom it could trust. The Tories, too, had given up all hopes of a Stuart restoration, and now at last followed the bent of their natural loyalty to the crown. The Whigs, on the other hand, were disunited, and their leaders—excepting Pitt, who was not at heart a Whig—were incapable.

Finally, the king had many offices and pensions and other rewards to give away, and George the Third determined to bestow them himself, instead of letting his Whig ministers do

this for him, as his two predecessors had done. He was thus able gradually to form a party in the House of Commons which obeyed his orders, and was strong enough to turn the balance against any ministry of which he disapproved. This party came to be known as "the King's Friends."

We have seen how the king got rid of Pitt and Newcastle at the outset of his reign. But George did not stop there: he bought votes in Parliament, while he punished all those who had opposed the peace, by depriving them of office, and otherwise showing his disfavour. It soon became evident that the short cut to wealth and power lay through subservience to the king, and so low was the tone of public morality at this time that few were found to resist the temptation.

Bute resigned in 1763, and was succeeded in the leadership by George Grenville, who at first seemed willing to do what the king wished. The chief events of Grenville's ministry were the beginning of the quarrel with the American colonies—which we must put aside for the present—and the dispute with Wilkes.

John Wilkes was a member of Parliament, unscrupulous and profligate, but very clever. In a paper which he edited, called *The North Briton*, he violently attacked the Peace of Paris and its authors (1763). For this he was arrested and his house searched, under what was called a "general warrant"—that is, a warrant which mentioned no name in particular, but ordered the constables to arrest all persons connected with the paper.

Wilkes was released from prison by Chief-Justice Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, who declared general warrants to be illegal, but he was expelled from the House of Commons (1764), and forced to flee to France. The injustice of this treatment made him very popular, while it discredited the ministry and the House of Commons. Next year (1765) the king quarrelled with Grenville, and dismissed him from office.

After a short period, during which the Marquis of Rockingham was Prime Minister, Pitt returned to power, under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Grafton (1766). But Pitt was no longer the man he had been. He lost popularity

by accepting a peerage, as the Earl of Chatham, and his health was now so bad that he took no part in the government. In 1768 he resigned.

Grafton's ministry was much weakened by Chatham's withdrawal, while it was vehemently attacked by an unknown writer who called himself "Junius." About the same time the quarrel with Wilkes was renewed. Wilkes had returned from abroad, and, in spite of a sentence of outlawry which had been passed upon him, he got himself elected to Parliament by the county of Middlesex (1768).

The House of Commons declared the election null and void, but Wilkes was re-elected (1769). This happened several times, till at last the Commons declared Wilkes's rival, Colonel Luttrell, to be elected, though he had got only about a fourth of Wilkes's votes. This illegal action caused much indignation, and riots took place in London and elsewhere. Soon afterwards Lord Grafton, finding his position untenable, resigned, and George seized the opportunity of appointing Lord North, a man after his own heart, to be Prime Minister in his place. For the first time since 1715, the king was able to make good his claim to choose his own ministers.

32. The War of American Independence—1763-1781.

IN 1770 the success of George the Third's policy seemed complete. The different sections of the Whig party were separated by mutual jealousies, their leaders were discredited and unpopular. Lord North was devoted to the crown, and willing to allow the king to govern as he liked. His ministry, which lasted for twelve years, was for a long time supported by a strong majority in the House of Commons. Thus George became, during this period, more powerful than any other sovereign since the Revolution.

Unfortunately, the period of the king's ascendancy is marked by the rebellion of the American colonies, which inflicted disaster on Great Britain. The quarrel was, perhaps, inevitable, but it certainly was hastened by the obstinacy and unwise-dom of the king. To understand its origin we must go back to the period immediately following the Seven Years' War.

The conquest of Canada and Florida had relieved the British colonies in America from any fear of France and Spain. They now began to feel that they could stand alone, and no longer required the protection of Great Britain. At the same time, they had several grievances against the mother country.

In the first place, there were the restrictions placed by the home government on colonial trade. The colonists were forbidden to export a number of articles—such as tobacco and coffee—to any country but Great Britain. They were forbidden to trade freely with the French and Spanish colonies. They could get no tea except from British merchants.

Naturally these regulations were constantly broken through, and a gigantic system of smuggling was carried on. So long as the smuggling was winked at, the colonists did not much mind the trade regulations. But when Grenville came into power, in 1763, and began strictly to enforce the law, there was a great outcry.

Then there was the question of maintaining the army, which the home government regarded as necessary in order to defend the colonies against attacks from the Indians or from a French invasion. The troops were billeted on the inhabitants—a thing to which they strongly objected. The colonists declared the army to be no longer necessary, and feared that it might be used to oppress them.

Thirdly—and this was the most important point of all—there was the dispute about taxation. The colonists at first allowed that the British Parliament had a right to impose customs-duties on imports and exports, to help in paying for the navy, but they maintained that other taxes could only be levied by their own colonial assemblies. Parliament, how-

ever, declared that the colonies ought to pay part of the expenses of the late war, and accordingly, in 1765, the Stamp Act was passed

This Act made it necessary that a stamp, for which a certain sum of money had to be paid to the government, should be affixed to all legal documents—such as contracts, wills, etc—in order to make them valid. It produced so much indignation in America that, in 1766, Lord Rockingham, strongly supported by Pitt, repealed the Act. But as, at the same time, another Act was passed declaring that Parliament had a right to tax the colonies, the colonies were by no means satisfied.

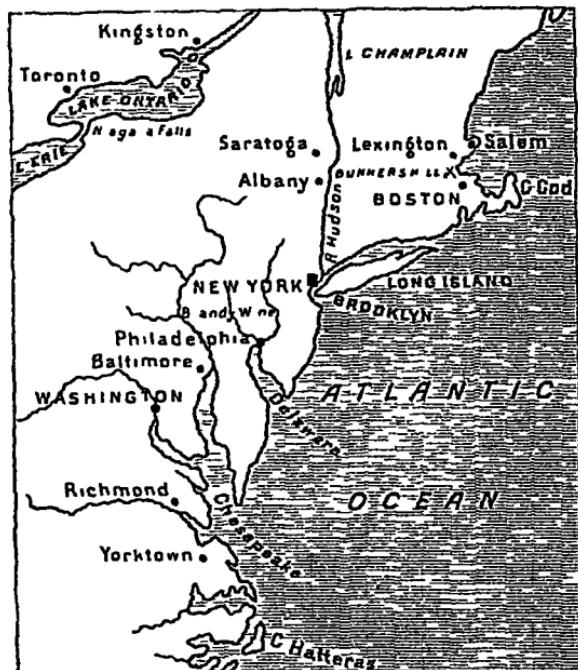
They soon had other grounds of complaint. In 1767 Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, passed an Act imposing import-duties on tea and various other articles in America. The colonists, enraged at this, entered

into an association for refusing to buy British goods, while their assemblies passed protests condemning the duties.

The protesting assemblies were dissolved, and troops were brought into Boston. After a riot, known as the Boston Massacre (1770), in which some colonists were killed by the soldiers, Lord North took off most of the hated import-duties. But the tax on tea was kept, in order to maintain the principle, and thus the concession did no good.

In 1773 some citizens of Boston, disguised as Red Indians,

(1,292)

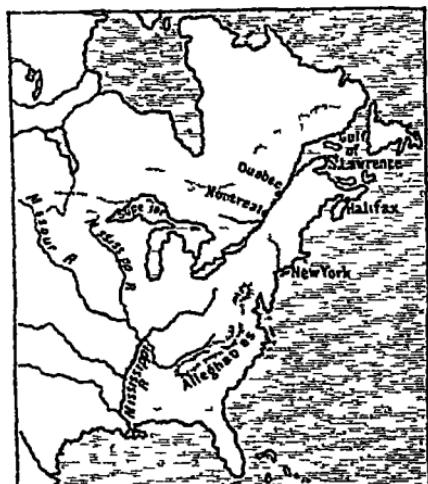




The Battle of Bunker Hill. By John Trumbull

boarded the tea-ships in the harbour, and threw the cargoes into the sea. This event was afterwards known as "the Boston Tea-party" Parliament now passed Acts closing the port of Boston, and suspending the free constitution of Massachusetts Chatham in vain opposed these measures the king and his ministers and the majority of Parliament were all for coercion, and matters rapidly drifted into war

The first skirmish took place at Lexington (April 1775) It was followed by a general rising, and the battle of Bunker Hill (June), won by the British after a hard struggle, made the continuance of the war inevitable Next year the Congress



BRITISH POSSESSIONS BEFORE AND AFTER THE AMERICAN WAR

of the American States published its famous Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776)

In the war that followed the combatants, at first sight, seemed badly matched The population of Great Britain was eight millions, that of the States only three In wealth there was still more difference, and the American coast was everywhere open to the British fleet But the Americans were fighting for their liberty, their country, though easy to enter, was so large that it was hard to hold, the ocean lay between them and Great Britain, and, lastly, they received assistance from abroad, which eventually turned the scale

During the first two years the war went, on the whole, in favour of the British. They won some battles, they took New York (1776) and Philadelphia (1777). Washington, who commanded the Americans with great skill and resolution, was almost driven to despair. But in October 1777 a British force, under General Burgoyne, was obliged to surrender at Saratoga, in the State of New York.

France, naturally eager to avenge her losses in the Seven Years' War, now made an alliance with the colonies, and declared war against Great Britain (1778). Her example was followed by Spain (1779) and by Holland (1780). Thus a sort of Grand Alliance was formed by the chief states of western Europe against Great Britain.

This league proved too strong for us. For a time the command of the sea was lost, and this was fatal to the British cause. In October 1781 Lord Cornwallis, with a large force, was surrounded by the Americans at Yorktown, on Chesapeake Bay. The British fleet was driven off the coast, and Cornwallis, thus left alone, was forced to surrender. Even George the Third was now compelled to allow that the attempt to reconquer America had failed.

33. Peace of Paris : William Pitt's Accession to Power—1781-1784.

THE struggle in America was concluded by the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, but the naval war against our European enemies still went on. In 1779 the French and Spanish fleets had entered the Channel and threatened an invasion. Gibraltar was closely besieged by land and sea. The fortunes of Great Britain seemed to be at a very low ebb.

Early in 1780 Admiral Rodney beat the Spaniards off Cape St Vincent, and relieved Gibraltar. But this was our only success. For two years the fighting at sea either led to nothing or went against us. We lost Minorca and several

West India islands, and Gibraltar was again closely besieged
But the year 1782 saw a change

In April Rodney won a great victory over the French admiral, De Grasse, off Dominique, in the West Indies, which restored to us the supremacy at sea. In September General Elliot destroyed with red-hot shot the floating batteries which besieged Gibraltar, and thus raised the siege. In India the efforts of the French to upset our power had failed.

Thus the allies had no further reason for continuing the war, and peace was made at Versailles in January 1783. By this peace Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States, gave up Minorca and Florida to Spain, and ceded two or three islands with Senegal in Africa to France. The losses were heavy, and the contrast with 1763 was humiliating. It was due to Rodney and Elliot that the end was not worse.

Some time before the war came to a close, Lord North had fallen. For eight or nine years after he took office he had a strong majority in Parliament, for the nation in general approved the king's policy toward America. But about 1779 it began to be evident that the king had made a mistake.

In 1780 Mr. Dunning carried in the House of Commons his famous motion, "That the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The opposition was strengthened by the failure of the government to subdue America, and in March 1782 Lord North resigned. This was a great defeat for the king, who from this time forward was never so powerful again.

Lord Rockingham, who had been Premier in 1766, now again took the lead, at the head of a Whig ministry, of which the most important members were Charles Fox and Edmund Burke, the greatest Parliamentary orators of their time. Rockingham held office for eight months only, but in this short period he passed some very good measures, reducing the national expenditure by abolishing useless offices, and excluding from Parliament certain classes of persons specially open to bribery. The credit of these Acts, which diminished the illegal influence of the crown, was chiefly due to Edmund Burke.

On Lord Rockingham's death (July 1, 1782), there ensued a violent struggle for power. The king made Lord Shelburne Prime Minister, but Fox and Burke would not serve under him, and resigned office. Lord Shelburne had only time to complete the Peace of Versailles, when he was upset by a combination of parties hitherto violently opposed to each other.

Fox, with the other Whig leaders, and Lord North, with a strong Tory following, made a league with the object of defeating the king. They soon overthrew Lord Shelburne, and forced the king to place them in office, under the nominal headship of the Duke of Portland (February 1783). The ministry thus formed was called the "Coalition".

The king was resolved from the first not to accept his defeat, but the means which he adopted to get rid of the Coalition were not such as could be applied in the present day. Fox brought in a Bill for the government of India, which was passed by a large majority in the House of Commons. When it came before the Peers, the king let it be known that he would regard no one as his friend who voted for the Bill. The Lords accordingly threw it out.

Thereupon the king dismissed the Coalition ministry, and called upon William Pitt to form a government. Pitt was then only twenty-five years of age. He was the younger son of the great Lord Chatham, who died in 1778. He had been in Parliament only a few years, but had already distinguished himself, and had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Shelburne's ministry (1782).

When Pitt took office as Prime Minister (December 1783), he had the great majority of the Commons, including all the chief speakers, against him. The opposition attacked him with much violence, and adopted all imaginable means to drive him from office. But, sure of the king's support, he stood firm, and gradually the opposition lost heart. In March 1784 Pitt dissolved Parliament, and the country returned a large majority in his favour.

The reasons for this astonishing victory were—first, the noble character and the brilliant genius of Pitt, combined with the

possession of so great a name, secondly, the reprehensible conduct of the Coalition leaders, who threw over political principles in order to gain office and power, thirdly, loyalty to the king, for after all it was better, as Dr Johnson said, to be ruled by the sceptre of King George than by the tongue of Charles Fox

But if the king appeared to win in the conflict, the victory really rested with Pitt, for the king could not have won without him. Once in power, Pitt obtained such an ascendancy in the nation that for eighteen years he had everything his own way. He was so popular that he could afford to do without the "King's Friends," and that group of politicians gradually disappeared. Under Pitt, Parliament was purer than it had been for a hundred years before

Pitt's accession to power brought to a close the predominance of the old aristocratic Whig party. This party had held power continuously from 1714 to 1762, and had, since the latter date, carried on a struggle with the king, in which it was more than once successful. The Tories now took the place of the Whigs, and their rule continued with hardly an interruption for nearly fifty years.

34. India : Clive and Warren Hastings—1763-1784.

WHILE Great Britain and her American colonies were gradually drifting into civil war, events of great importance were taking place in India. Mir Jafar, who had been made Nawab of Bengal instead of Siraj-ud-Dowlah, was deposed on account of his intrigues with the Dutch, and Mir Kasim was set up in his place. But Mir Kasim, like his predecessor, was naturally eager to free himself from British influence, and for this purpose he allied himself with his neighbour, the Vizier of Oudh.

In the war that followed, the allies were entirely defeated

by Major Munro at the battle of Buxar (1764) Thereupon the British occupied the great cities of Oudh, and pushed their frontier as far as Benares, while Shah Alam, the Mogul emperor, who reigned at Delhi, and enjoyed a nominal sovereignty over all India, placed himself under British protection. Soon after this, Clive, who had been absent in Europe since 1760, returned to India as Governor of Bengal (1765).

Clive had it in his power to annex Oudh and to depose the emperor, but he wisely refrained. He made peace and alliance with the Vizier, restoring the conquests lately made, and setting up the kingdom of Oudh as a "buffer state" between the British dominions and the unconquered territories beyond. On the other hand, he took over from the emperor the "Diwani"—that is, the right of collecting taxes and other dues in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Thus these three great provinces passed practically under British control.

Clive then set himself to reform the administration of the East India Company, which had fallen into great disorder. He put a stop to the custom of receiving presents from natives, thus relieving the Company's servants from a great temptation to illegal practices. He purified the governing council in Bengal by forcing the corrupt members to resign. He also reformed the army. When he returned to England, in 1767, a new spirit prevailed for a time in British India.

But in spite of Clive's efforts, the affairs of the Company soon after this got into a very bad way. The government of Madras, unable to resist the temptation to intrigue, made several treaties with the native princes, which involved them in a disastrous war. The chief powers of southern India at this time were the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Peshwa, head of the Maratha nation, who reigned at Poona, and Hyder Ali, a robber prince, who had built up a strong kingdom in Mysore. A war broke out between Hyder and the Nizam, in which the British joined (1767) on the side of the Nizam. But the Nizam proved faithless, and the war ended in a victory for Hyder, who swooped down on Madras, and forced the council there to make a discreditable peace (1769).

Meanwhile the Company was getting into difficulties at home. Under an Act passed in 1767, they had to pay a large yearly sum to the government, while their expenses had greatly increased. Their affairs were ill-managed, and they fell deeply into debt. The war with Hyder and a famine in Bengal (1770) reduced them to such straits that they were forced to apply to government for aid.

The result was the "Regulating Act," passed by Lord North in 1773. This Act brought the three presidencies under one head, by enacting that the Governor of Bengal should be Governor-General of India, it established a Supreme Council of five persons, by whose advice the Governor-General was to act, it created a Supreme Court of Judicature, sitting at Calcutta, and it secured permanent control by enacting that the appointments of the Governor-General and the Council must be approved by the crown. As a set-off against this loss of independence, the government lent the Company £1,400,000 to pay its debts.

The first Governor-General under North's Act was Warren Hastings, who had been Governor of Bengal since 1772. He had already done a good deal to reform the administration of the province, by placing the tax collectors under strict supervision, establishing law courts in every district, encouraging the study of native law, and remodelling the police.

He had also conquered (1773) the territory of Rohilkund, to the north-west of Oudh. This was a departure from Clive's principles, but Hastings was forced to conquer the country, in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Marathas, who had captured Delhi, and were rapidly becoming the chief native power in India. Instead, however, of annexing Rohilkund, he left it to our ally, the Vizier of Oudh.

The appointment of Hastings as Governor-General nearly coincided with the death of Clive. He had been violently attacked in Parliament, and charged with enriching himself by illegal means. Parliament acquitted him of the charge, but Clive was so distressed by the attacks that he committed suicide (1774).

The first four years of Hastings' governorship were almost entirely occupied with quarrels between himself and certain members of his council. These men, of whom Philip Francis was the chief, being in a majority on the council, thwarted him in every imaginable way. They also brought disgraceful and unfounded charges against him, through the agency of one Nuncomai, a native, who, fortunately for Hastings, was found guilty of felony and executed.

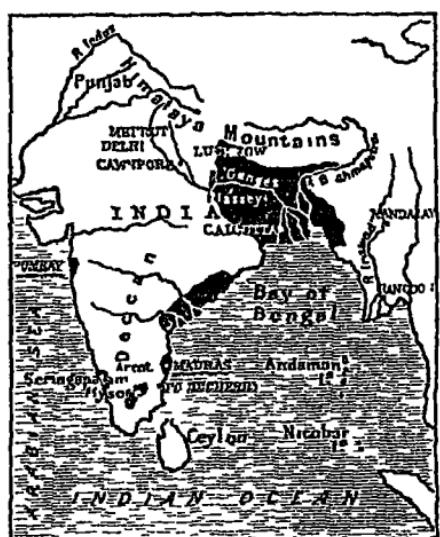
But the most important period of Hastings' governorship was that which coincided with the American war. In 1777

the French began intriguing with the Peishwa at Poona and with Hyder Ali, and when war was declared (1778), they took active measures to overthrow our power in India. Hastings soon found himself involved in war with the Marathas, the Nizam, and Hyder Ali at the same time.

The French settlements in India were soon taken, but for two or three years it was all that Hastings could do to hold his own against the native princes. The great French

admiral, Suffren, fought several indecisive battles with Admiral Hughes off the Indian coast, and the French constantly sent aid to the native states. However, in 1782, there came a change.

Hyder Ali died, and though his son Tipu filled his place with equal energy, his allies gradually deserted him. The Marathas made peace (1782), and the Nizam soon followed their example. In 1783 the Peace of Versailles relieved us of French hostility. Tipu continued the war till 1784, when he also came to terms. The conclusion of this desperate struggle brought Great Britain no accessions of territory in India, but it left her more secure than ever in the position of a dominant power.



BRITISH POSSESSIONS AFTER
WARREN HASTINGS

35. Political Reform and the Industrial Revolution in England and Scotland.

PITT'S first ministry falls into two parts. In the first of these (1783–1793) the country was at peace, and Pitt had leisure to carry out a financial policy which distinguishes him as one of the greatest of British ministers. In the second period (1793–1801) the nation was engaged in a terrible struggle abroad, in which it must be allowed that Pitt was less successful.

Pitt was at the head of the Tory party, but he was not a Tory by nature any more than his father had been a Whig. Although forced by the French Revolution to adopt Tory principles later on, Pitt began as a reformer. He tried hard to reform the constitution of Parliament, and his financial measures followed the lines laid down by the great Whig leader, Sir Robert Walpole.

The Parliamentary system was indeed very defective at this time. The House of Commons was elected by a very small part of the population. Many large towns, such as Manchester and Birmingham, were not represented in Parliament at all, while the bulk of the members sat for small boroughs, in some of which there were only a dozen voters, or even less. Bribery was rampant, and seats in Parliament were openly bought and sold.

In 1782 and 1783 Pitt brought forward resolutions in favour of Parliamentary reform, which were rejected by the House of Commons. When Prime Minister, in 1785, he proposed to take away the franchise from a number of "rotten" boroughs, as they were called, and to add members to London and the counties. But in spite of Pitt's great influence, this proposal was rejected like the others, and he did not repeat the attempt. The country at large was not yet awake to the necessity of reform, and too many people were interested in maintaining the existing evil system.

What altered the mind of the nation, and secured Parliamentary reform at a later date, was the great industrial change which came over the country in the eighteenth century. This turned Great Britain from an agricultural into a manufacturing and commercial nation, raised up huge towns where hitherto there had been mere villages or barren wastes, and led to a rapid increase of the population, to which the Parliamentary franchise could no longer be denied.

This "industrial revolution," as it has been well called, was in full progress during Pitt's ministry, but it had begun some time before. Walpole had, as we have seen, done a great deal to liberate trade from the unwise restrictions which formerly prevented its growth. It had also become a leading motive of our foreign policy to obtain markets for our goods abroad.

Such was the object of the Methuen Treaty, made with Portugal in 1703, by which the Portuguese agreed to admit English woollen goods to Portugal, on condition that we should lower the tax on Portuguese wines. So, too, the Treaty of Utrecht forced the Spaniards to admit British manufactures, though under close limits, to their colonies, and the war of 1739 was partly due to the attempt of Spain to withdraw this concession. On the other hand, British manufactures were encouraged by what were called "bounties"—that is, payments from the government to manufacturers exporting their goods abroad, while foreign manufactures imported into this country were heavily taxed, to prevent them from competing with ours.

But what did more than these regulations to foster our nascent industries was the rapid growth of inventions. The cotton manufacture was improved and cheapened by the invention of the flying-shuttle (1760), Arkwright's spinning roller for making fine thread (1769), Hargreaves' spinning "jenny," and other machinery. Water power began to take the place of hand-labour about 1775, and the inventions of James Watt enabled manufacturers to make use of steam power in their mills shortly before the French Revolution.

The coal-producing industry was encouraged by the growth of machinery, and also by other causes Pumping engines worked by steam were introduced into coal mines about the middle of the eighteenth century A little later coal began to be used instead of charcoal for smelting iron Blast furnaces, worked by steam, for smelting iron, were established about 1790

Meanwhile agriculture began to improve rapidly Between 1727 and 1775 a great quantity of land hitherto untilled was brought under cultivation The growing population required more food, and this promoted farming Corn was also grown for exportation Men began to farm on a large scale, and to make large profits

Cattle and sheep were now bred for food, and not principally for leather or for wool, as had hitherto been the case The breeds rapidly improved, and the feeding of cattle gave a great stimulus to the development of root-crops The land was better drained, and the rivers banked up, roads were much improved by an Act of Parliament passed in 1741, and canals began to traverse the country in all directions

All these changes tended to enrich the country very fast, and Pitt's wise financial policy helped on the process He was much influenced by Adam Smith, who published his famous work on Political Economy in 1776 Pitt reduced the tax on tea to a tenth of its former amount This stopped smuggling, because it was no longer worth while to smuggle, and it benefited India, because so much more tea was drunk

He abolished jobbery in regard to public works and government loans, and substituted free competition He encouraged trade by reforming the customs-duties He saved the nation much needless expense by bringing together all the different loans which made up the National Debt into one great "Consolidated Fund," which we now call "Consols" He reformed taxation by abolishing a number of taxes which pressed hardly on the poor, while he retained those on luxuries, which the rich could better afford to pay

Finally, by his commercial treaty with France (1786) Pitt made a long step towards freedom of trade between two

countries hitherto hostile in commerce as in arms. The result of Pitt's financial policy and the growing wealth of the country was that, under him, the national revenue increased from less than twelve millions to over seventeen millions a year.

In all this great advance Scotland took her full share. Her history since the Union was, with the exception of the rebellions in 1715 and 1745, one of almost unbroken repose. The only notable incident was the Porteous riot in Edinburgh (1737), and that is chiefly remarkable as being the foundation of Scott's famous novel, "The Heart of Midlothian." The Highlands were completely pacified after 1745, while the Lowlands gave themselves up to the development of industry, agriculture, and commerce.

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36. Society, Art, and Literature.

1689-1789.

FROM what has been said in the last lesson, it will be evident that a great change—what, indeed, we may call a revolution—was passing over Great Britain. Ireland, owing to various causes, was hindered from taking much part in the industrial movement, but England and Scotland were rapidly becoming industrial and commercial countries.

This does not mean, of course, that agriculture was not still very important, but that an increasing number of people were being employed in trade and manufacture, and that a larger proportion of the wealth of the country was produced and owned by commercial men. The result of this was that political power was gradually passing from the owners of the soil—the landlords, the older nobility, and the country gentry—into the hands of a new class—the merchants, and ship-owners, and manufacturers.

Among the poorer members of society, the separation between the agricultural and the manufacturing classes, between

town and country, became more and more marked. Cottage-manufactures declined, as it became more profitable to collect the workers in large factories and in towns. This was especially the case after the great inventions had been made, from about 1760 to 1780, and after steam-power began to be applied to the machinery used in manufactures.

On the other hand, as the towns grew in size, their inhabitants were no longer able to live a half-rural life, as they had done in former days. These changes, though they led to a great increase of the national wealth, did not advance the happiness of the inhabitants either of the town or of the country. Wealth, too, was less evenly distributed—the rich becoming richer than before, and the poor still poorer.

The growth of population in England during the eighteenth century was remarkable. Between 1689 and 1720 it remained about five and a half millions—little more than it had been in 1603. After 1720 it began to increase, slowly till about 1760, then much more rapidly, till in 1790 it was eight and a half millions—that is to say, it was more than half as large again as it had been seventy years before.

But this growth took place in the towns, especially in the great towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire, not in the country districts. This was due to the increase of manufactures, and to the fact that they flourished most in the north, where coal and iron were at hand. Thus the south and east of England, which till the seventeenth century had been the most populous and important parts of the country, were outstripped by the north, which now became the great nursery of England's wealth.

During the earlier portion of the century, the condition of the agricultural labourer in Great Britain was fairly good. He was certainly far better off than the peasant of France or of Germany. But the improvement of agriculture and the growth of trade did not turn to his profit. On the contrary, his wages fell, while the price of food and other necessaries rose. After 1750, the number of paupers increased at an alarming rate.

The church during this period was not in a healthy condition. Too many of the clergy neglected their duties, especially

in out-of-the-way districts It was owing to this state of things that two brothers, John and Charles Wesley, while still at Oxford, established a small society of earnest men who endeavoured to breathe a new spirit into the church John Wesley and one of his pupils, Whitfield, preached all over the country, and brought religion home to many who knew nothing of it before Their followers, who became known as Methodists, numbered in a few years over 100,000

The century which intervenes between the English Revolution and the French was a great age in several respects besides the growth of trade and of national power It witnessed in England the development of a national school of art, and the production of many great works of literature

At the beginning of the period the new cathedral of St Paul's, the crowning work of Sir Christopher Wren, rose on the ruins of the ancient church which had perished in the great fire of London The painter Hogarth, in the reign of George the Second, depicted the manners of his time with a marvellous combination of truth and satire A little later, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, and others gave to England, for a time, an undisputed supremacy in pictorial art Handel was the greatest musician of his day, while Chantrey in sculpture, and Wedgwood in pottery, revived something of the spirit of the Hellenic age

In literature, if this period produced no writers quite equal to the giants of the seventeenth century, it called forth a larger number of authors who may justly be styled first-rate Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding" was published two years after the Revolution Dryden did not die till 1700, and during the latter part of his life, Congreve also kept up the high traditions of the English stage

The reigns of Queen Anne and George the First form one of the most brilliant periods of our literary history Early in the former reign, when political feeling ran high, Defoe and Swift displayed their talent for satire—the former on the side of the Whigs, the latter in aid of the Tories A little later, Steele and Addison pictured society for us in the humorous and

reflective pages of "The Tatler" and "The Spectator" Pope, in his "Rape of the Lock," and in other poems, gave a polish and brilliance to his verse which have never been outdone in English literature, while Gay and Prior followed not far in the rear

In the reign of George the First, Defoe published his immortal "Robinson Crusoe," while Swift lashed the weaknesses of mankind in "Gulliver's Travels," and upheld the rights of Ireland in the "Drapier's Letters" About the same time, Pope's translations of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" presented Homer to English readers in an eighteenth-century dress, which however, brilliant as it is, obscures the peculiar charms of the Greek original Scotland, meanwhile, was beginning to contribute her share to literature Allan Ramsay's pastoral play, "The Gentle Shepherd," still holds its place in the affections of the Scottish people, and Thomson's "Seasons," though somewhat artificial, show much observation and sympathy

During the fifty years which preceded the French Revolution, the English novel attained its full stature in Richardson's "Clarissa," Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield," Sterne's "Tristram Shandy," and the works of Fielding and Smollett Poetry was at a comparatively low ebb, but Collins's "Odes," Gray's "Elegy"—which Wolfe repeated as he crossed the St Lawrence—and the sparkling comedies of Goldsmith and Sheridan, bridge over the gap that separates Pope from Cowper The letters of Horace Walpole, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and Lord Chesterfield reflect the manners and the conversation of the age of Chatham But the greatest literary figure of the time is that of Samuel Johnson—great in almost all departments of literature, but greatest as a talker, whose brilliant and solid wit is immortalized in the pages of his "Life" by Boswell Two years before Johnson died, Cowper's poems announced the approach of a new and more romantic age

Looking at the period as a whole, it may fairly be said that the writers already mentioned in poetry, essay, and

romance, together with Berkeley and Hume in philosophy, Bentley in scholarship, Adam Smith in economics, Hume and Gibbon in history, and Blackstone in law, gave England a position in the world of letters with which not even France at that time could compete

37. The French Revolution and the War with France—1789-1797.

THIRTEEN years after the Americans had issued their Declaration of Independence, the French Revolution broke out. The two movements were by no means unconnected. The example of America had great influence in France, and led Frenchmen to imitate the colonists in their successful revolt against oppression. Further, the expenses incurred by the French Government in the struggle of 1778-1783 brought the country, already sadly impoverished by war and misgovernment, to the verge of bankruptcy.

Men's minds had been shaken by the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, and others. They were no longer content with the old order of things, they had ceased to believe in religion, and to revere the church and the crown. The study of the British Constitution had also its effect, at least upon the upper classes in France, and there was a tendency towards the adoption of Parliamentary government.

Thus when, in May 1789, the "Estates-General" (as the French National Assembly was called) met at Versailles to consult about the affairs of the nation, every one was prepared for a great change. The Assembly, which had not been called together since 1614, was divided into three "estates"—the nobility, the clergy, and the "third estate," or commons. The third estate at once demanded that all three should sit together, which would give them the advantage, as they were the most numerous. After some hesitation, the other two estates gave way.

This victory decided all that followed, for from that moment a tendency towards democracy prevailed. In July 1789 the Bastille (the state prison of Paris) was stormed, a little later the privileges of the clergy and the nobles were abolished. The king, Louis the Sixteenth, a worthy but weak man, soon lost all control of affairs. In September 1791 a new constitution was established, which turned the old monarchy into a democracy in all but in name.

Meanwhile many of the nobility had left France, and tried to stir up Austria and Prussia to interfere in their behalf. The king had attempted to escape (June 1791), but had been caught at Varennes and brought back to Paris. The German sovereigns now began to threaten invasion in order to liberate the king, to which the French replied by declaring war (April 1792).

The violent republicans now came more and more to the front. In the autumn of 1792 a French Republic was proclaimed, and in January 1793 the king was beheaded. This event, while it sent a thrill of horror through Great Britain, would not, by itself, have provoked a war, but, combined as it was with several other causes, it made war inevitable.

The French had publicly announced their intention to carry the Revolution into other lands, to upset all existing governments, and to confiscate their property. Already there were several societies in England which were active in spreading revolutionary doctrines. The French ambassador, Chauvelin, did his best to encourage their designs. Still more important was the lust of conquest already displayed by the republican leaders. Being successful in the early part of the war, they conquered Belgium and annexed Savoy. A French occupation of Belgium was obviously very dangerous to Great Britain, for it made an invasion of this country much more easy, while, if Belgium were allowed to remain French, Holland was pretty sure to follow.

Public opinion in Great Britain had hitherto been divided. At first there was much sympathy with France, but as the Revolution passed from one excess to another, this feeling

yielded to one of hostility Fox still remained friendly, but Burke, his old ally, left him, and declared against the Revolution Pitt did his best to maintain peace, but the French, knowing that he would soon be forced to declare war anticipated him by declaring it themselves (February 1793)

Great Britain and Holland, Spain, Austria, and Prussia, with several smaller powers, now joined in a league against France, known as the First Coalition At the same time, the internal condition of France was one of great disorder, and rebellions against the central authority in Paris broke out But the republican rulers displayed marvellous energy and resolution They suppressed all internal resistance, and raised army after army, though they could hardly feed or clothe their soldiers The allies, on the other hand, were sluggish and disunited

Consequently, the French not only repelled the Austro-Prussian invasion, but carried the war into the enemies' country Early in 1795 they conquered Holland, which they converted into the "Batavian Republic" Later in the same year Prussia and Spain made peace with France These were heavy blows to the Coalition, but Pitt strengthened his alliance with Austria, and the war went on

At home Pitt was now stronger than ever A large section of the Whig party, under the Duke of Portland, joined him in 1794, and the opposition, still led by Fox, was quite powerless But abroad Pitt was not so successful

Late in 1793 a British force which had occupied Toulon was driven out by a young artillery officer, born in Corsica, named Napoleon Bonaparte To balance this rebuff, a great naval success was won by Lord Howe, who defeated the French fleet off Ushant (June 1, 1794) But in 1795 an expedition, sent to help an insurrection of the French royalists in the district called La Vendée, turned out a disastrous failure It was grossly mismanaged, and the insurrection was crushed by the republicans on the shores of Quiberon Bay

Meanwhile the government of France, after several changes, had come into the hands of a body of five persons, called

the "Directory." With this government Pitt twice tried to make peace (March and October 1796), but as he demanded the restoration of Belgium to Austria, nothing came of the attempt. The war in Europe now went altogether in favour of France.

Early in 1796 Bonaparte invaded the Austrian possessions in Italy, won the battle of Lodi, and took Milan. In January 1797 he beat the Austrians at Rivoli (near Verona), took Mantua, and pressing on through Tyrol into Austria forced the emperor to sign a truce at Leoben, in Styria (April 1797). Thus the First Coalition was broken up, and Great Britain had to continue the war against France without allies.

38. The War with France.

1797-1802.

THE year 1797 was a critical one for Great Britain. Holland and Spain had been forced to join France against us in 1795, so that the Coalition of 1790 was now revived in a new shape. Late in 1796 the French attempted landings at Banty Bay in Ireland, and on the Welsh coast, but both failed. Preparations, however, were actively made for a more serious invasion next year, in which the Dutch and Spanish fleets were to take part.

Early in 1797 the Spanish fleet sailed out of Cartagena, with the intention of joining the French fleet at Brest, to cover the projected invasion. But it was met by Admiral Jervis off Cape St Vincent. The British fleet was far inferior in strength, but Jervis attacked the Spaniards, took several ships, and drove the rest into Cadiz harbour (February 14, 1797). This stopped the project of invasion for a time.

Still the danger was not over, for at this moment the fleet itself, almost our sole defence, broke out into mutiny. There was plenty of reason for the sailors' discontent—low pay, bad

food, and cruel severity of discipline. Two distinct mutinies took place—one among the ships at Spithead (April), the other and the more serious one in the fleet off the *Noire* (May–June). Fortunately, a judicious mixture of firmness and concession put an end to these mutinies before the danger of invasion reappeared.

During the autumn Pitt made another effort to come to terms with France. He offered to restore most of the colonial conquests which Great Britain had made, but the war-party got the upper hand in Paris, and the negotiations were again broken off (September). The French Government now took up again the plan of an invasion, and the Dutch fleet issued from the *Tel* to join the French. But Admiral Duncan, in command of the ships which had mutinied shortly before, won a great victory over the Dutch off *Camperdown*, in North Holland, and captured twelve ships (October 11). After this the idea of an invasion was given up.

A few days later peace between France and Austria was finally concluded at *Campo Formio*, in the north of Italy (October 27). This peace gave France large accessions of territory, and made her the strongest power in Europe. All the territory on the left (or western) bank of the Rhine, including Belgium and an important part of Germany, now became French. The north of Italy, except Venice, which was given to Austria, was cut up into several republics, which, like the *Batavian Republic* (Holland), were subject to the influence of France.

But the conclusion of peace did not stop the course of French aggression. Disturbances broke out in Switzerland, which gave the French a pretext for interfering. The free Swiss Confederation was altered, after some hard fighting, into a "Helvetic Republic," subject to French influence, and Geneva was annexed to France (April 1798). A republic was also set up in Rome, the temporal power of the Pope destroyed, and the Pope himself carried off by the French.

These and other events justified a renewal of the war by the Continental powers, but its immediate occasion was the



FRANCE IN THE TIME OF NAPOLEON

(The darker tint shows the Empire the lighter tint its dependencies)

British success in Egypt Bonaparte, who was now rapidly becoming the first man in France, formed a great project for attacking the British in India, and determined to conquer Egypt as a first step. He accordingly sailed from France in May 1798, landed in Egypt, and occupied Cairo with little difficulty.

The Mediterranean fleet was then commanded by Admiral Nelson, who had already distinguished himself in the battle of Cape St Vincent. Nelson had tried in vain to catch Bonaparte on his way to Egypt, but he found the French fleet in Aboukir Bay, and at once gave battle. The French were lying at anchor, so close to the land that it seemed impossible for ships to get between them and the shore. But Nelson sailed his ships up on both sides of the French line, and thus, taking

them between two fires, almost entirely destroyed their fleet (August 1, 1798)

The Battle of the Nile, as this great victory was called, encouraged Austria to make another attempt to recover her lost provinces. Pitt was thus able to form the Second Coalition, which was joined by Austria and Russia. Prussia, however, remained neutral. At first things went well for the allies. The French were driven out of Italy and Germany, while the Dutch fleet in the Texel was captured by the British (1799).

But in the autumn of that year Bonaparte returned from Egypt, and the advantages which the allies had gained were soon torn away from them. Early in 1800 two great French armies advanced against Vienna. Bonaparte crossed the Alps into Italy, and won the battle of Marengo, near Alessandria (June). Later in the year Moreau, at the head of the other army, won the battle of Hohenlinden, in Bavaria (December).

Austria had already been deserted by Russia, and these repeated blows forced her to make peace, which was accordingly signed at Lunéville, near Nancy (February 1801). Great Britain was forced to continue the struggle single-handed for another year. At first, indeed, it seemed likely that she would have to fight Russia and other northern powers as well as France, for these powers made a league, and threatened war, unless Great Britain would allow neutral states to trade freely with the French.

But this league was broken up by a victory which Nelson gained at Copenhagen over the Danish fleet (April 1801), and by the death of the Czar Paul of Russia, whose successor, Alexander, was more friendly to Great Britain. Meanwhile the French army had been expelled from Egypt, and there seemed to be no sufficient reason for continuing the war. Peace was therefore signed at Amiens (March 27, 1802).

By this peace Great Britain restored almost all the colonial conquests which she had made, including the Cape of Good Hope, several West India islands, and the French possessions in India. Egypt was to be restored to Turkey, and



The Battle of the Nile By W L Wyllie R.A (By permission of the Artist) [The ship on fire in the centre is the Orient.]

Malta (captured in 1800) to the Knights of St John Great Britain only retained Ceylon and Trinidad This was all that she got by a war which had cost her thousands of lives, and had added two hundred and seventy millions to the national debt

39. Ireland : the Union—1714-1801.

THE harsh treatment which, as we have seen, had been meted out to Ireland after the Revolution, was not mitigated during the earlier part of the eighteenth century. On the contrary, the limited rights of self-government which the Irish had hitherto possessed were reduced to a shadow. In 1719 an Act was passed in the British Parliament enabling that body to make laws for Ireland, while in 1727 the Irish Parliament itself deprived Roman Catholics of their votes.

Henceforward the Irish Parliament represented nothing but the Protestant minority, and as the Irish boroughs were mostly very small, corrupt, and subject to the influence of the landlords, the Parliamentary system in Ireland was merely a cloak for the tyranny of a few powerful men. This was rendered still worse by the absence of any law limiting the duration of an Irish Parliament. Consequently, the Parliament elected on the accession of George the Second sat throughout the reign, a period of thirty-three years.

This political subjugation, however degrading in other respects, had one merit—it gave Ireland repose, of which she stood much in need. In spite of the restrictions imposed by the government, Irish industry and agriculture began somewhat to revive. The linen industry increased, especially in the north, and the trade of Dublin, Belfast, Cork, and Limerick gradually became considerable.

The quiet of Ireland was broken only by one incident—that of “Wood’s halfpence”—in 1723. There was a lack of copper money in Ireland, and one Wood, a Birmingham manufacturer, bought the contract for supplying a new copper

coinage. A great outcry was immediately raised—for it was supposed that Wood intended to make a profit by coining bad money—and so violent was the agitation that the contract had to be withdrawn.

But soon after the accession of George the Third a much more serious movement began. The Irish Parliament, impatient of its political impotence, began to show signs of a desire for reform. The first step was the passing of an Octennial Act in 1768, which limited the duration of an Irish Parliament to eight years.

The outbreak of the American War gave a great impulse to this movement. Irishmen showed little sympathy with the American colonists or their allies, on the contrary, a large force of volunteers was raised and armed (1778) to defend the island against a French attack. But the example of America roused the Irish to demand the redress of their commercial grievances, while the difficulties in which the British Government was involved made it impossible to refuse the request.

The demand for free trade with England and her colonies, once made, was taken up throughout Ireland. An association was formed to refrain from buying—or, as we should now say, to "boycott"—English goods, so long as free trade should be withheld. In 1780 Lord North, hard pressed on all sides, gave way, and a large measure of free trade was granted to Ireland.

This was a great triumph, but the movement for reform, once started, did not stop here. Grattan, an eloquent speaker, and the leader of the Irish House of Commons, now put forward the demand for political equality, and a "Declaration of Right," requiring an independent Parliament, was passed by both Houses in Dublin. Just at this time Lord Rockingham supplanted the government of Lord North. One of his first measures was to concede the Irish demand.

That part of Poynings' Law (1494) which made legislation in Ireland subject to the consent of the English Council, together with the Act of 1719 and certain other Acts, was repealed. For the first time for nearly four centuries, Ireland had an independent Parliament (1782).



The Battle of Trafalgar By Clarkson Stanfield R.A. in the National Gallery of British Ar

But independence only brought out into clearer light the faults of the Irish Parliamentary system—the overpowering influence of the landlords, and the denial of political rights to the Romanists. Pitt was anxious to remove these defects, and in this he was supported by Grattan. The Irish Parliament was induced to pass a law restoring to the Roman Catholics the right of voting in Parliamentary elections, but the Protestants obstinately refused to allow Romanists to sit in Parliament.

Pitt was also desirous of establishing complete freedom of trade between Great Britain and Ireland, but commercial jealousy in England prevented him from carrying out his plan. The Irish themselves opposed him on this point, because they hoped that, by taxing British goods imported into Ireland, they would foster the growth of their own manufactures. Pitt now perceived that, with a separate Irish Parliament, it was impossible to introduce the reforms at which he aimed, and he therefore determined to bring about a complete union between Ireland and Great Britain.

Meanwhile the Roman Catholics in Ireland had been much irritated by the refusal of their demand for political equality, while the old national feeling had been revived by the American revolt, and democratic aspirations had been stirred by the French Revolution. These three elements were combined in the rebellion of 1798. That rebellion did not give much trouble. The insurgents were defeated at Vinegar Hill in County Wexford (June), and a small French force sent to assist them arrived too late to be of any use.

But the rebellion convinced Pitt that union was absolutely necessary, and he lost no more time in bringing it about. With his own Parliament he had no difficulty, while he conciliated the Irish Romanists by promising the removal of all their political grievances—or, as it now began to be called, “Catholic Emancipation.”

But the Protestants and the landlords, who completely controlled the Irish Parliament, offered a stubborn resistance, for they felt that a union would sooner or later destroy their

power. There were only two ways of breaking down this resistance—force and bribery. Pitt chose the latter. Large sums of money and other forms of persuasion were applied in the purchase of votes, and by these means the Act of Union was carried (1800).

The separate Parliament in Dublin ceased to exist, and thirty-two Irish peers (including four bishops), with one hundred commoners, took their places in the united Parliament at Westminster. Complete free trade was established between the two countries. The first combined Parliament for Great Britain and Ireland met in January 1801, but Catholic Emancipation and the reform of the representation were not carried through until many years after.

40. The Peace of Amiens, and the Renewal of the War—1801-1805.

THE union with Ireland was the last great act of Pitt's ministry. He considered Catholic Emancipation—that is, the admission of Roman Catholics to seats in Parliament—as an essential part of his plan, but he met with an unexpected difficulty in carrying it out. The king believed such a change to be a violation of the oath which he had sworn at his coronation, and his conscience would not allow him to give way. Pitt, on his side, conceiving that his honour was pledged to the Romanists, had no choice but to resign (February 1801).

He was succeeded in office by Henry Addington, a man of very slight ability, under whom the Peace of Amiens was concluded (March 1802). The nation was tired of the nine years' struggle, disgusted by the enormous growth of the national debt, and overburdened with taxation. In order to defray the extraordinary expenses of the war, Pitt had invented the income tax—first imposed in 1798—which pressed heavily on the governing classes.

The hatred of sedition engendered by the excesses of the French Revolution, had led to severe restrictions of public liberty. The Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended for eight years, the government being thus enabled to throw any suspected person into prison, and to keep him there without trial. Several Acts of Parliament were also passed giving the government extraordinary powers for suppressing sedition, while public meetings were broken up and political societies dissolved.

These measures were adopted only out of a sense of necessity, and it was hoped that the country would now be able to return to its normal condition. But it soon became evident that the Peace of Amiens was likely to be little more than a truce. The ambition of Napoleon Bonaparte made the preservation of peace impossible.

For some time there had been a reaction in France against the excesses of the Revolution, and in favour of a monarchical form of government. This feeling had enabled Bonaparte, soon after his return from Egypt, to bring about a change in the constitution, and to get himself appointed "First Consul" of the Republic (November 1799). Two years later he became First Consul for life. This was a monarchy in all but in name.

There was now no power on the Continent which dared to check Bonaparte, and his aggressions, during a time of peace, became flagrant. Disorders in Switzerland again gave a pretext for interference in that country. French troops entered Switzerland, a new government, entirely subject to French influence, was set up, and the Canton of Valais, containing two of the chief passes over the Alps into Italy, was made a separate republic, dependent on France. In Italy, several small states were united into the "Italian Republic," of which Bonaparte became president, while Piedmont and Elba were annexed to France.

Meanwhile the British Government refused to recognize the republics which the French had established, and retained Malta as some compensation for later French aggressions. The English press frequently attacked Bonaparte, and French exiles in England plotted against him. He demanded the

suppression of the hostile newspapers and the expulsion of the plotters, but the government refused

Finally, he published a report on the state of Egypt, which showed that he intended to renew the attempt to conquer it, and he demanded the immediate cession of Malta. Great Britain insisted on its retention for ten years, and on this being refused, declared war (May 1803)

For more than two years we had to maintain the struggle single-handed, and France, it must be remembered, had far larger resources than Great Britain—a population more than twice as large, much greater natural wealth, and a magnificent army, not to mention the control of Holland and Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, and Italy. It was an uneven contest, and Great Britain was for some time exposed to great danger.

One of the first results of the war was that Pitt, whom the nation could not dispense with in such an emergency, returned to power (1804). About the same time Napoleon Bonaparte became Emperor of France. He now obliged Spain to join him, and set to work to prepare for an invasion of England, collecting for this purpose a large army and a flotilla of boats at Boulogne.

But so long as the British fleet commanded the Channel an invasion was impossible. Napoleon therefore ordered Villeneuve, the French admiral, to sail to the West Indies, in order to decoy Nelson away, and then to return as quickly as possible to cover the crossing of the troops (1805). The plan nearly succeeded. Nelson crossed the Atlantic in hot pursuit, but finding that the French fleet had already started homewards, guessed their intention, and sent a swift ship to warn the government.

A small fleet under Admiral Calder was sent to meet Villeneuve, and a battle was fought off Cape Finisterre in Spain (July), which, though indecisive, gave Nelson time to come up. Villeneuve soon afterwards retired to Cadiz, and the critical moment passed by. Napoleon, disgusted by the non-appearance of his fleet, broke up his camp at Boulogne (August), and marched into Germany.

For already another European war had broken out Pitt had formed a Third Coalition, of which Russia and Austria were the chief members, and Napoleon hastened to attack it. He soon captured a whole division of the Austrian army at Ulm, in Württemberg (October 17), but before he had time to deal a crushing blow, the decisive battle of the war had been won at sea.

Villeneuve had at length put out from Cadiz, with the combined French and Spanish fleets, and had fallen in with Nelson off Cape Trafalgar. Nelson had twenty-seven ships, the allies had thirty-three, but Nelson, sailing down upon them in two columns, and breaking their line in two places, won a complete victory (October 21, 1805). Eight ships got back to Cadiz, to be taken there some years later by the British forces, of the rest, eighteen were taken or destroyed, while four more were captured a fortnight later and three were wrecked. Nelson was mortally wounded in the battle, but he had done his work. In saving Britain he had saved Europe.

41. The War with Napoleon.

1805-1808.

THE victory of Trafalgar put an end to all fear of invasion, and made Great Britain undisputed mistress of the sea. Napoleon, deprived of the means of attacking her directly, endeavoured to ruin her by cutting her off from trade with the Continent.

In the effort to do this he was led to take steps—such as the conquest of Spain and Portugal, and the annexation of a large part of Germany and Italy—which raised all Europe against him, and to this united resistance he at length succumbed. Thus the battle of Trafalgar was fatal to Napoleon.

But at first it seemed to place no check upon his career of victory. Pressing on from Ulm, he occupied Vienna, and

soon afterwards defeated the Austrians and Russians in the battle of Austerlitz, in Moravia, perhaps the greatest of all his victories (December 1805) The Russians now retired to their own country, and Austria was forced to make peace at Pressburg, ceding Tyrol to Bavaria, and Venice to Italy, which Napoleon had lately converted into a kingdom

The battle of Austerlitz, which thus destroyed the Third Coalition, broke the heart of Pitt. Worn out with the labours of the last twenty-two years, and crushed by disappointment, he died in January 1806

Pitt was more successful in peace than in war, and his failure in the struggle with France has been severely contrasted with his father's triumphs. But it must be remembered that France in 1800, led by Napoleon, was a very different country from France in 1760, under the effete monarchy of Louis the Fifteenth. And if Pitt failed to vanquish France, his indomitable spirit neared his country to unheard-of exertions, and stirred up the peoples of Europe to make effort after effort to recover their liberty.

Pitt was succeeded by Lord Grenville. His old adversary, Fox, now joined the ministry, which was called the "Ministry of All the Talents," because it united the leaders of all parties. Fox tried to come to terms with Napoleon, but the negotiations led to nothing. It was clear that the war could only end with the destruction of one or other of the combatants. Shortly afterwards Fox died (September 1806).

Grenville's ministry had but a short life, but it passed one measure of immense importance. An agitation against the slave-trade, begun by Clarkson about 1784, actively fostered by Wilberforce, and supported both by Pitt and by Fox, had long been gathering strength. It resulted in an Act of Parliament, passed in 1807, which abolished the slave-trade throughout the British dominions.

Soon afterwards the ministry fell. It had revived the question of Catholic Emancipation, which the king resisted, as before. The ministry agreed to drop the proposal for the time, but refused to pledge themselves not to revive it again. Upon

this they were dismissed, and a general election followed. This ended in a strong Tory majority, which showed that the nation, on the whole, approved the action of the king. A Tory ministry came into office, with the Duke of Portland at its head (March 1807).

Meanwhile great events had taken place on the Continent. After Austerlitz, the old German Empire—the “Holy Roman Empire,” as it was called—came to an end. Francis the Second, the Emperor, gave up his ancient title, and took that of Emperor of Austria instead (1806). Germany was broken up, and the German states became quite independent.

Already the small principalities had been swallowed up by the larger (1802), and the middle states now began to look to France as their protector against Austria and Prussia. Napoleon formed most of them—Bavaria, Wuitemberg, and others—into the “Confederation of the Rhine,” subject to his influence. He thus became master of a great part of Germany.

About the same time he turned the Batavian Republic into a kingdom, over which he placed his brother Louis. He also converted Naples into another kingdom, for his brother Joseph, while his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, became Viceroy of Italy. Soon afterwards he forced Prussia into a war, by first of all promising to give her Hanover, and then offering to restore it to Britain. The consequence was the battle of Jena, near Weimar (October 1806), in which the Prussians were utterly defeated.

Napoleon next attacked Russia, and won the battles of Eylau (February 1807) and Friedland, both in East Prussia (June). These victories resulted in the Peace of Tilsit, on the Memel (July 1807), which raised Napoleon to the height of his power. Prussia had to cede most of her territory, and Napoleon and the Czar Alexander agreed to divide the control of Europe between them.

Napoleon had already put into action his plan for destroying British trade. In November 1806 he issued the “Berlin Decrees,” which forbade any trade with Great Britain, and ordered the confiscation of all British goods on the Con-

tinent The British Government replied with the "Orders in Council" (January and November 1807), which forbade neutral states to trade with any countries from which British trade was excluded, and placed the ports of France and her allies under blockade

Between these two fires, the unfortunate neutral states suffered severely In order to force Denmark to join the "Continental System," as Napoleon's league came to be called, he resolved to seize her fleet But the British Government, getting wind of this project, sent a strong expedition, which, after a short bombardment of Copenhagen, captured the Danish fleet and brought it to England, taking Heligoland on the way (September 1807)

Portugal, however, still refused to join Napoleon, whereupon he sent an army which soon overran the country and occupied Lisbon (November 1807) He next forced the King of Spain, Charles the Fourth, to resign the crown, and made his own brother Joseph king in his stead Thus the whole of the Peninsula passed into his power (June 1808)

But these high handed actions produced a great and decisive change The sovereigns of Europe having, one after another, yielded to Napoleon, the nations now began to take up the quarrel An insurrection broke out in Spain and Portugal, which even Napoleon could not stamp out, and which set an example to the rest of Europe The British Government seized the opportunity of inflicting a blow on Napoleon's power, and sent a force, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had already distinguished himself in India, to assist the insurgents in Portugal Wellesley landed on August 1, 1808, and thus the Peninsular War began

42. The War with Napoleon.

1808-1812.

HITHERTO British efforts to deal a blow at France on the mainland had ended in disaster. Like the unfortunate attempt at Quiberon Bay in 1795, an expedition to Holland in 1799 had completely failed. In 1806 a British force had landed in southern Italy, and won a battle at Maida, but it was soon compelled to retire. In 1807 a force had been sent to coerce the Turks at Constantinople, and another had landed in Egypt, but both were defeated with heavy loss.

Much strength had been frittered away in these ill-advised attempts. If a better fortune awaited the expedition to Portugal, this was principally due to the genius of Wellesley. Within three weeks of landing in Portugal, Wellesley won two battles over the French, at Rorica and Vimiera. These victories led to the Convention of Cintra (August 30), by which the French agreed to evacuate Portugal.

Meanwhile the Spanish insurgents had won several successes, they had even forced Joseph Bonaparte to leave Madrid (August 1808). Sir John Moore, with a small British force, was sent to their assistance, and advanced to Salamanca. But Napoleon took prompt measures to wipe out these defeats. Renewing his alliance with Russia at Erfurt in Saxony (October), he marched into Spain at the head of a large army, scattered to the winds the ill-armed and undisciplined Spanish levies, and entered Madrid.

He then turned against Moore, who with great difficulty made good his retreat to Corunna. But the fleet was not ready, and the French tried to crush the British before they could embark. The battle which followed (January 16, 1809) ended in the repulse of the French, who were under the command of Soult. Moore died, like Wolfe, in the moment of victory. His troops embarked on board the fleet, and returned to England. All that had been won so far was a precarious footing on the soil of Portugal.

But the insurrection in Spain had not really been crushed, and its example had already produced its effect elsewhere. A popular rising took place in Tyrol, under the patriot Andrew Hofer, and Austria determined to make one more attempt to throw off the yoke of Napoleon. Thus the war in Germany was renewed in April 1809.

Napoleon took command of the French armies, and advanced on Vienna, but for the first time in his life he met with a rebuff. He tried to cross the Danube at Aspern, opposite Vienna, in the face of the Austrian army, but was driven back (May 22). For a time Napoleon was in a very critical position. The Tyrolese insurgents had beaten the French and Bavarian troops, and had a British force been sent at once to Germany, he might have been crushed.

But, by dint of great exertions and superior skill, he managed to cross the river at another place, and defeated the Austrians in a great battle at Wagram, not far from Vienna (July 6). This led to an armistice, during which the British Government tried to make a diversion in favour of Austria by attacking the French nearer home. A strong force was sent to the Scheldt, with the object of seizing Antwerp.

But though Flushing was taken, the expedition got no further. Thousands of men died of fever in the swamps of the island of Walcheren, where they were encamped, and the attempt ended in dismal failure (July–August). It was the worst of the many blunders committed by the British Government during the war. Austria was now compelled to make peace at Vienna (October 14), ceding more land to Bavaria, and Trieste, with other provinces on the Adriatic, to France.

Shortly after this, Napoleon's empire reached its fullest expansion. He annexed Holland to France, with the coast of northern Germany, including Oldenburg, Hamburg, and Lubeck. The Canton of Valais also became part of France, while the Papal States and southern Tyrol were added to the kingdom of Italy. Trieste and the neighbouring lands were formed into the "Illyrian Provinces". A kingdom of Westphalia had already been created, to which Hanover was now added, and



Prussian Poland had been made into the independent Duchy of Warsaw

Thus, in 1810, Napoleon ruled, either directly or through his subordinates, over all western and almost all central Europe, while he was allied with the sovereigns of the rest. Against this gigantic power, Great Britain alone still continued to make head.

Wellesley returned to Portugal in April 1809, and with great daring marched towards Madrid. He won a victory at Talavera (July 28)—for which he was made Viscount Wellington—but he had not troops enough to advance further, and was forced to retreat to Portugal. The French took advantage of this to reduce almost the whole of Spain to subjection.

Next year Napoleon, relieved from his difficulties in the east by the Peace of Vienna, prepared to drive Wellington into the sea. But the British general had used the winter to make a

great fortified camp to the north of Lisbon, drawing entrenchments, called the Lines of Torres Vedras, right across from the Tagus to the sea. There, with his back to the ocean, he awaited the French attack. His defensive policy was quite successful. The French general Massena, after spending much time before the impregnable lines, retreated from Portugal with heavy loss (November 1810).

In 1811 the chief fighting was on the line of the Portuguese frontier. General Beresford won a hard fight at Albuera (May 16), but the great fortresses of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo were firmly held by the French. In Spain, the French were much harassed by bands of Spanish insurgents, who excelled in "guerilla" warfare, but still, by the end of the year, Wellington had made little or no real progress. Relief was, however, at last to come, and from an unexpected quarter.

The Czar Alexander had begun to get tired of the domination of Napoleon and the continual growth of his empire, while Russia, like the rest of Europe, suffered greatly from the commercial privations inflicted by the "Continental System." Alexander at length determined to withdraw from it, and to throw open his dominions again to British trade. To this act of defiance he was doubtless encouraged by the stubborn resistance in Spain and Portugal. Napoleon, feeling that the example of the Czar would be followed by other states, and that such a defection would be fatal to his scheme for ruining Great Britain, determined to reduce Alexander to obedience. With this object he declared war on Russia in June 1812.

43. The War with Napoleon.

1812-1815. -

NAPOLEON was well aware of the greatness of the task that lay before him in 1812. An invasion of Russia—a country of enormous extent and sparse population, and pos-

sessing hardly any roads—was a very different thing from an invasion of Italy or of Germany. But he hoped to overbear all resistance by force of numbers, and therefore collected a huge army, of some 600,000 men, largely consisting of contingents from allied or subject countries—Austria, Germany, Italy, and others.

With the greater part of this force, he crossed the Russian frontier on the 23rd of June. The Russians retreated before him, but at length they took up a position on the Borodino, about seventy miles from Moscow. There they were defeated on the 7th of September. A week later Napoleon entered Moscow.

The inhabitants set fire to the city and fled, and want of food and shelter compelled the invaders to retreat. When Napoleon left Moscow (October 19), his army had already dwindled to about 100,000 men. The Cossacks harassed their retreat and cut off stragglers. Early in November a hard frost set in. Starving and despondent, the army speedily degenerated into a disorderly rabble. At the crossing of the Beresina, a tributary of the Dnieper (November 28), the rear-guard was almost destroyed, and a miserable remnant of about 20,000 men was all that got back to Germany.

This frightful catastrophe did not by any means end the war, but it led to a general rising against Napoleon, which began in Prussia. That country had taken to heart the lesson taught by the defeat of Jena. A great statesman, the Baron vom Stein, had introduced numerous reforms, and the army had been entirely remodelled. The whole Prussian nation now rose against their former conqueror.

Early in 1813 Napoleon, who had gone to France to collect a fresh army, recommenced the campaign in Saxony. After several hard fights, he consented to an armistice, and negotiations for peace took place, which, however, came to nothing. Austria now changed sides, and another great Coalition was formed, Great Britain pledging herself, as before, to pay large sums of money to the allies.

When the fighting began again, Napoleon was at first successful, but in the three days' battle of Leipzig—the “Battle



Napoleon at St Helena By Paul Delaroche, in the Royal Collection

of the Nations," as the Germans call it—he was completely beaten (October 16–19, 1813) The result of this defeat was that all his German allies deserted him, and he was obliged to recross the Rhine.

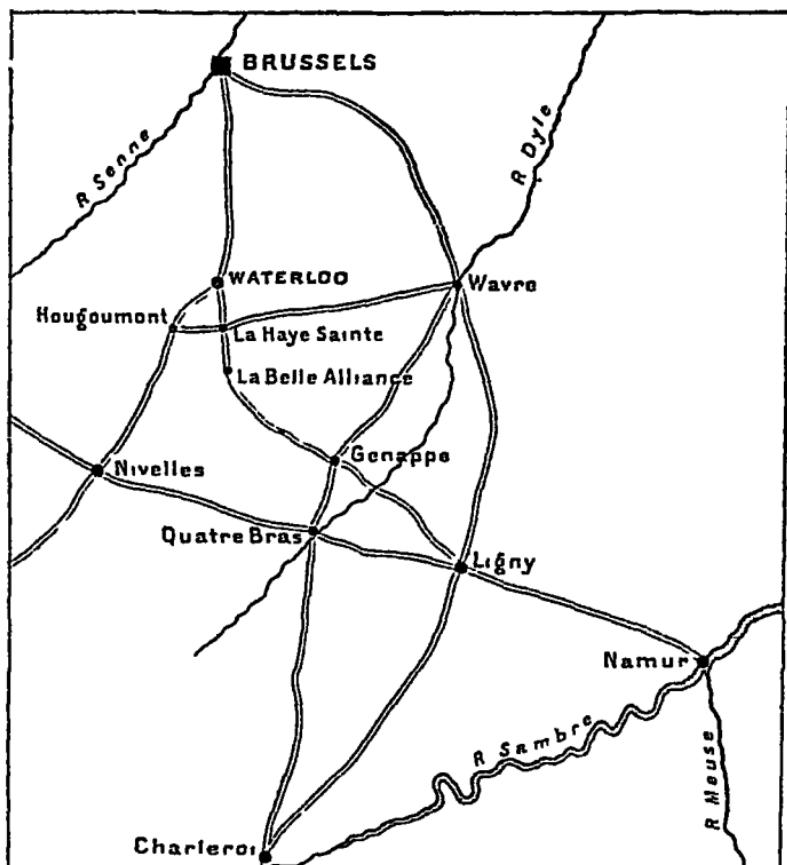
Meanwhile success had at length crowned Wellington's efforts in Spain. In the winter of 1811–1812 Napoleon withdrew part of his army there for the Russian campaign. Wellington, on his side, was stronger than before, for he had more help from home, and he had by this time drilled his Portuguese allies into very fair troops. Early in 1812 he advanced in force, stormed the fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and won the battle of Salamanca (July 22). In August he entered Madrid.

Once more he had to retreat, but it was for the last time. In 1813 the French army, much diminished in numbers, withdrew northward. Wellington followed, and on June 21 inflicted on them a defeat at Vitoria, which drove them back into the Pyrenees. Several sanguinary conflicts took place among the mountains, and late in the autumn Wellington descended into the plains of France.

The end now rapidly approached. Before crossing the Rhine, the allied sovereigns again offered Napoleon terms of peace, but he refused the offer, and they invaded France. Napoleon's military genius was never more strikingly displayed than in the campaign that followed. Time after time he beat back the invaders, but numbers triumphed at last, and the allies entered Paris, on March 31, 1814.

A little later Wellington fought and won, near Toulouse, the last battle of the Peninsular War (April 11). Napoleon had already abdicated the throne. By the Peace of Paris, which was signed on May 30, 1814, France was forced to restore all the conquests she had made since 1792, except a few small territories on the frontier.

No war indemnity was demanded, and Great Britain restored her colonial conquests, except Ceylon, the Cape, part of Guiana, Mauritius, and three other islands. Louis the Eighteenth, younger brother of Louis the Sixteenth, was placed



on the French throne, and Napoleon was banished to the island of Elba. Considering the greatness of the sacrifices which the war had involved, it must be allowed that the allies, especially Great Britain, made a very generous use of their victory.

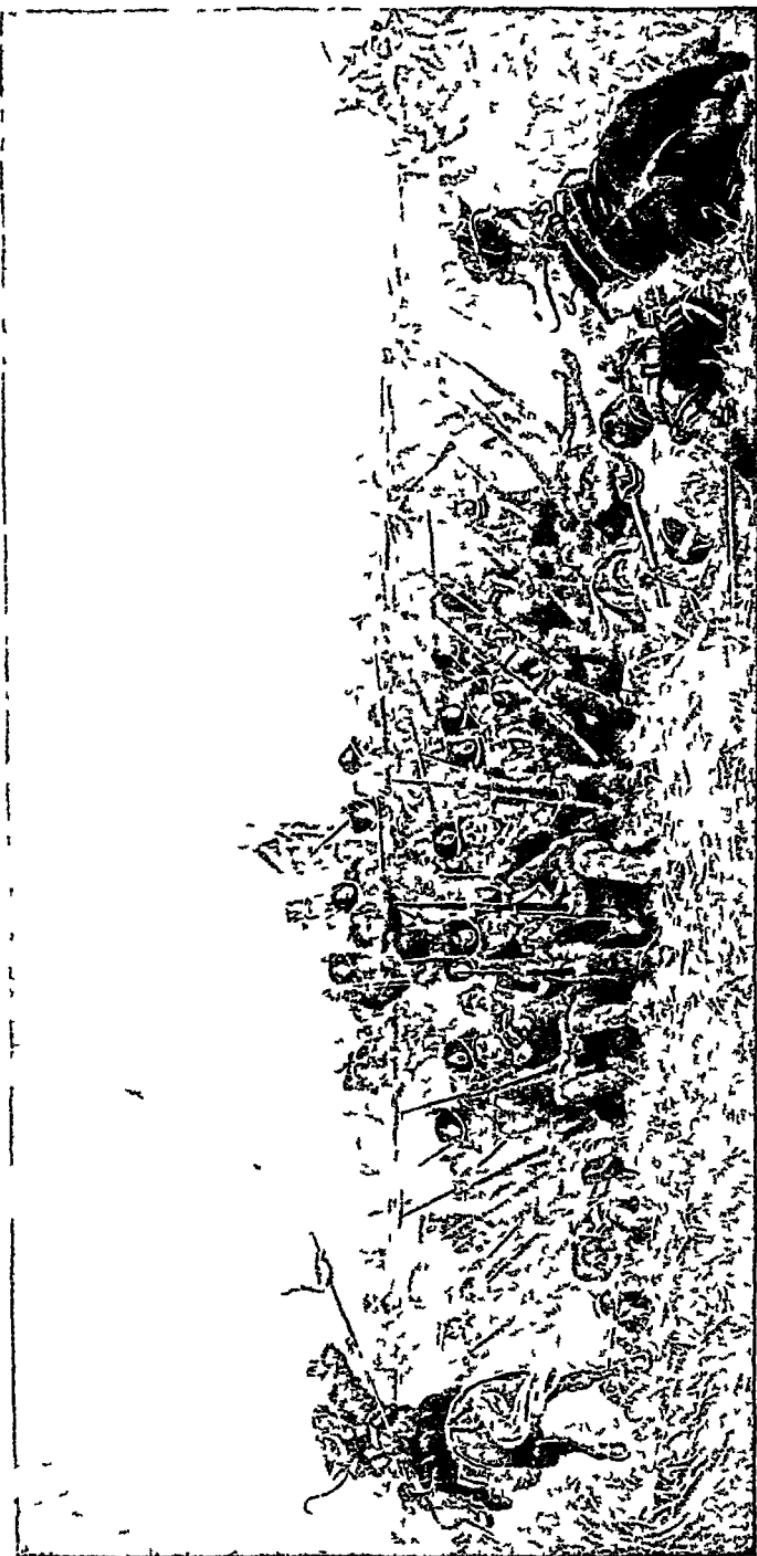
But their work was not yet done. A congress of ambassadors from the chief powers, including France, met at Vienna, in May 1814, to consider the settlement of Europe. This was a work of great difficulty, for the old order of things had been destroyed, and the eastern powers claimed compensation for their losses in the war.

The questions of Poland and Germany were especially difficult. Great Britain sided with France and Austria against Russia and Prussia, and the quarrel seemed to be fast ripening into a new war, when Europe was startled by the news that Napoleon had returned to France. He landed at Fréjus, on



By Daniel Maclise, R. A., in the Houses of Parliament.

Meeting of Wellington and Blücher after the Battle of Waterloo



A British Square By Lady Butler (By permission of the Fine Arts Society, owners of the copyright)

March 1, 1815, was welcomed by the army, and at once re-established his power.

War was immediately declared. A British army, under the command of Wellington, was sent to Belgium, to join the Prussians under Blucher. Napoleon tried to prevent this junction. His advance-guard was beaten by Wellington at Quatre Bras, on the sixteenth of June, but the Prussians were defeated on the same day at Ligny. Wellington therefore fell back toward Brussels, and took up a defensive position on the heights of St. Jean, near Waterloo.

There he was attacked by Napoleon on Sunday, the eighteenth of June. The armies were about equal in size, but Wellington was weaker in cavalry and artillery, and his troops were mostly raw recruits. For some time the issue of the fight was doubtful.

The British squares were weakened by the artillery fire of the French, and repeatedly charged by their cavalry. At one time the centre seemed to be giving way, but on the whole the line stood firm, and two great French attacks had already been repulsed, when the Prussians came up on Wellington's left flank. Napoleon now made a last desperate effort to break the British line, but that, too, failed, whereupon the allies advanced, and the French army was driven off the field in headlong rout.

The battle of Waterloo was decisive, the long struggle was at an end. Napoleon, unable to raise another army, fled from the country, and took refuge on board the *Bellerophon*, a British ship. He was banished to the island of St. Helena, where he died in 1821. Louis the Eighteenth again returned to his throne.

The second Peace of Paris was signed, November 20, 1815. Its terms were not so lenient as those of 1814, but still they were not severe. A moderate war indemnity was exacted, and an allied army was to occupy France for five years. But no provinces were torn away, France merely returned to the boundaries which had limited her territory in 1789.



The Retreat from Moscow By Adolphe Yvon (By permission of the Corporation of Manchester)



44. India and America—1784-1815.

THE great struggle with France, which we have been observing, was not confined to Europe and the adjacent seas. It extended to India, and even involved us in a quarrel with the United States. The war with America (it broke out in 1812) was due to the insistence of Great Britain on her right to stop the trade of neutral states (like America) with France, and to search American ships for deserters from her own fleet.

The Americans invaded Canada, but were repulsed. A British force landed and burned Washington, a useless and discreditable act. At sea, the war at first went in favour of the Americans, who took several British ships, but after a while the British navy regained its superiority. When the

conflict with France came to an end, there was no reason for continuing the war with America. Peace was made at Ghent, in December 1814, leaving the questions in dispute unsettled.

The conflict in India led to much more important results. When it began, in 1793, we were in a better position than we had been in during the previous war, for, in the first place, the French navy was now so weak that it could give no assistance to our enemies in India, and, secondly, the government of our Indian possessions was on a better footing. In 1783 Fox had brought in a Bill which was designed to give Parliament greater control over the East India Company, but this Bill was rejected, and its rejection led, as we have already seen, to the fall of the Coalition ministry.

When Pitt came into office, he passed an Act (1784) which placed the general government of our Indian possessions in the hands of a "Board of Control," consisting of six members of the Privy Council nominated by the crown, of whom a Secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to be two. This Board was to appoint the Governor-General and other great officials. The Company retained the management of commercial affairs, but gave up all political power. With two or three slight changes, Pitt's Act remained in force till 1858.

A year after the passing of this measure, Warren Hastings came home. He was immediately attacked by Burke in the House of Commons, and impeached on charges of extortion and other illegal acts in India. The trial lasted, with intervals, for seven years (1788-1795), and ended in the acquittal of Hastings. He had done some things not excusable according to the laws of strict morality, but these laws were hardly applicable in India in his day, while his errors were more than balanced by his efforts to improve the position of the natives, and by his successful defence of the British cause.

Hastings was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, whose government was in many respects important. He introduced reforms as to the pay and the duties of the Company's servants, and may be said to have founded the Indian Civil Service of the

present day. He also determined the land question by an arrangement known as the "Permanent Settlement of Bengal"—a settlement which has been much blamed on economic and other grounds, but which, by attaching the landlord class to British rule, had important political results.

In his relations with the native states, Lord Cornwallis was pacific, but the turbulent ambition of Tipu, Rajah of Mysore, brought on a second war with that prince, which ended in his defeat and in the annexation of half his territory (1792). Sir John Shore, who succeeded Cornwallis in 1793 tried hard to avoid interfering in native quarrels, but the only result was that our enemies were emboldened, and our allies lost confidence in us. Moreover, the French, after the outbreak of the European war in 1793, made trouble in India by stirring up the native states against us, and by sending officers to drill their armies.

In 1798 Napoleon, who was then in Egypt, made an alliance with Tipu, with the view of driving the British out of India. Lord Wellesley, elder brother of Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, had just become Governor-General. He began by inducing the Nizam of Hyderabad to dismiss his French officers, to receive a contingent of British troops instead, and to make an alliance against Tipu.

He then demanded that Tipu should give up his alliance with the French, and on his refusal declared war against him. The war was short and decisive. Tipu was defeated and killed, and his territory divided, part being given to the descendants of the old kings of Mysore, whom Hyder Ali, Tipu's father, had displaced, and part to the Nizam, the rest being taken over by the British.

The next state to be dealt with was Oudh. The Vizier had failed to pay his tribute, and he had also been intriguing with the French. In 1801 he was compelled to hand over the Doab and Rohilkund to the British as security for his tribute. Thus Oudh was now completely surrounded by British territory. At the same time, Tanjore and the Carnatic were taken over, on similar grounds.

The Marathas remained to be dealt with. Their confederacy was the strongest native power in India, and they were splendid fighters, but their chiefs—the Peishwa, Holkar, and Sindia—were disunited. The Peishwa was induced to make a treaty with Great Britain, but the other chiefs held out. Hence the second Maratha War, which began in 1803.

It was one of the severest struggles in which we had yet been engaged in India. Sir Arthur Wellesley distinguished himself by winning the battles of Assaye and Argaum (1803), while General Lake conquered at Aligarh and Laswari, and took Agra and Delhi. Holkar, on the other hand, more than once defeated the British, but he too was at length compelled to yield, and the war was brought to a successful end in 1805.

During the last ten years of the European conflict there was peace in India. Large additions had been made to the territory under British rule, while all the great native states were bound to us by treaty. Thus the last French attempt to overthrow our power in India resulted in the complete establishment of British supremacy, still further confirmed by the conquests of Malta, Ceylon, and the Cape. The monopoly hitherto enjoyed by the East India Company thus became no longer defensible, and when its charter was renewed in 1813 trade with India was thrown open to all.

PART III

COMMERCIAL GROWTH AND POLITICAL REFORM, 1815-1900

45. The End of George III.'s Reign. 1815-1820.

THE period of our history on which we are now entering bears a sharp contrast with that which we have reviewed. The eighteenth century was an age of war, the nineteenth was, for Great Britain, an age of peace. Of the period of one hundred and twenty-six years which separated the Revolution of 1688 and the battle of Waterloo, we employed exactly one half in great wars, in Europe and elsewhere. During the years which have passed since the battle of Waterloo, we have had many small colonial wars, but the only serious struggles in which we have been engaged were the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, and these occupied hardly four years between them.

But this is not the only contrast that may be pointed out. The eighteenth century was a time of political stagnation. After the Act of Settlement (1701), not a single political reform of first rate importance took place for nearly a hundred and thirty years, except the Union with Scotland and with Ireland. But since 1828 we have passed through a series

of political changes, which have made a revolution in the government of Great Britain, and have turned an aristocratic system into one which, though monarchical in form, is in reality a democracy.

There is, however, one characteristic which is common to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—the rapid growth of our colonies and our commerce. The wars of the eighteenth century established our colonial empire, as the internal struggles of the seventeenth century had established our free constitution. Since 1815 our colonies and dependencies have grown, in a time of profound peace, more rapidly than they grew previously in a time of war, though in a different way.

Our industries have kept pace with our commerce, and this growth has been the chief cause of political reform. Meanwhile scientific discovery, mechanical invention, and geographical exploration have made great advances. The railway, the ocean steamer, and the telegraph have altered the conditions under which we live, hardly any part of the globe remains unexplored, and science is busier than ever in unlocking the secrets of the universe.

Thus the last three centuries have worked together to mould the Great Britain which we now see. We have now to trace out the political, commercial, and scientific progress which is the most distinctive feature of the present age.

When the great war with France came to a close in 1815, men thought that an era of peace, plenty, and happiness was about to dawn on Europe. But though peace was established, plenty did not come in its train. On the contrary, a period of commercial depression set in.

Manufacturers had produced huge quantities of goods, in the hope of being able to sell them as soon as the European markets should be opened by the peace. But they had overshot the mark. More goods were produced than were required, consequently they had to be sold for less than they had cost, or they could not be sold at all. The manufacturers lost money, and trade grew worse and worse, as prices fell, wages also fell, and the artisans suffered accordingly.

At the same time dockyards and factories, hitherto busy in producing ships and war material, were thrown out of work by the restoration of peace, and could not for some time be utilized in other directions. Taxation was enormous, and it pressed heavily on industry, for the principles of Walpole and Pitt had been given up under the necessities of the war. Everything was taxed that could be taxed, and this made manufactures more expensive than they ought to have been, and therefore diminished the demand for them.

When the war came to an end, the repeal of the income tax relieved the wealthier classes, but nothing was done to remedy the evils from which the poor were suffering. Agriculture was depressed as well as trade. During the war the demand for corn had been very great, and the farmers had turned much of their land into corn land, which could only be worked at a profit when the price of wheat was very high. After the peace the demand for corn fell off, the poorer land could not be cultivated, and the farmers suffered heavy losses.

The fall in prices and the agricultural depression affected the banks, many of which failed, thus increasing the general distress. To keep up the price of corn and encourage agriculture, a law was passed in 1815 which forbade the importation of corn whenever the price fell below 80 shillings a quarter. This, of course, kept up the price of bread, but it did not help the farmers much. Soon afterwards the price of wheat rose, chiefly owing to a bad harvest, to 103 shillings a quarter—that is, more than three times as much as it generally costs now—and the poor could hardly buy bread. The result was that riots broke out in various places.

Want of work was the chief grievance, and this led bands of starving operatives, who were called Luddites, to attack the factories and break machines, on the ground that machinery diminished the demand for labour. In the rural districts large quantities of ricks were burned, out of mere rage and desperation, though it was evident that this would only make bread dearer than ever.

Instead of seeking to remove the causes of this discontent, the Tory government tried to restore order by violent repression. They suspended the Habeas Corpus Act (1817), broke up political clubs, and dispersed public meetings by force. They prosecuted a bookseller named Hone, who had published some foolish but harmless political tracts. But in this they failed, for the jury acquitted Hone three times, which showed that public opinion was against the government.

In August 1819 a great mass-meeting at Manchester was dispersed by a cavalry charge, with some loss of life. The affair received the name of the "Manchester Massacre," and caused much indignation. Finally, in the autumn of the same year, Parliament passed a series of measures, called "The Six Acts," which restricted the freedom of the press, and gave the authorities arbitrary powers for the suppression of public meetings, and for the punishment of what they called sedition. Shortly after this the king, George the Third, died (January 1820). He had reigned nearly sixty years.

46. Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation—1820-1830.

THE death of the old king made little difference to the nation, partly because the crown had long ceased to exercise much influence on affairs, and partly because the new monarch, George the Fourth, had acted as regent for his father during the last ten years. George the Third had had several short attacks of madness in his long reign, but in 1810 his insanity became permanent, and from that time onward the Prince Regent was practically king.

The nation had always felt respect and even affection for George the Third, but neither feeling was entertained for his successor, whose moral character and political conduct were not such as to deserve popularity. This was unfortunate, for the

temper of the people at the time of his accession was very bitter, and the masses seemed inclined to rebel against all authority

The movement for Parliamentary reform, which Pitt, among others, had encouraged in the early part of George the Third's reign, was thrown back by the French Revolution. Men were so alarmed by the excesses to which the reformers were led on in France, that they would hear nothing of reform on this side of the Channel. The resolutions in favour of reform, which were occasionally brought forward in Parliament during the great war, were rejected by overwhelming majorities.

When the war was over there seemed for some time to be no improvement in the prospects of reform. In 1816 the Corporation of London had sent up a petition demanding a fairer system of popular representation, as the only way to remedy the evils from which the nation was suffering. But the riots which broke out, and the violent speeches of demagogues like Hunt, terrified the middle classes. Events like the attack on the Prince Regent in 1817, and the Cato Street Conspiracy—a sort of Gunpowder Plot to blow up the ministry—which was discovered in 1820, alienated many men from the cause of reform. The separation between the middle classes and the masses of the people, caused by these events, retarded political progress for many years.

But trade gradually recovered, and though there was a period of great depression and distress, accompanied by riots and machine-breaking in 1825 and 1826, the temper of the people was no longer so alarming as before. The middle classes began to see that reform was the best safeguard against revolution, while the writings of reformers like Cobbett gradually converted public opinion. At the same time, the claims of the great industrial centres, such as Birmingham and Manchester, to a share of political power became stronger every year as their wealth and population increased.

In 1821 the reformers won their first victory in Parliament. A Bill was passed for depriving Grampound, in Cornwall—one of the smallest and most corrupt boroughs—of its

had been repealed, while others had become obsolete, but the exclusion of Romanists from Parliament still remained. Although Pitt had been forced, as we saw, to drop his demand for their admission, others, like Canning, had taken it up. Resolutions in its favour had been voted several times by the Commons, but had always been rejected by the Lords. So late as 1826 the Commons, under the influence of Canning, had passed a Bill for Catholic Emancipation, but the Lords had thrown it out. It was the Catholic Association in Ireland which at length carried the reform.

This association, first started in 1809, became active in 1823 under Daniel O'Connell, a Dublin barrister, and a man of great ability and energy. Suppressed for a short time between 1825 and 1828, it gradually gained immense power in Ireland. Through its agency O'Connell was elected for County Clare. This event, showing as it did the strength of feeling among the Romanists, broke down the resistance of the government. The Duke of Wellington yielded, the king, after some hesitation, gave his consent, and the laws which prevented Roman Catholics from sitting in Parliament were repealed (1829).

Soon after this George the Fourth died (June 1830). He was succeeded by his brother, William the Fourth, a genial sailor, popular both on account of his character, and because he was believed to be in favour of reform.

47. The Reform Act and its Consequences—1830-1837.

SHORTLY after the accession of William the Fourth a revolution, known as the "Revolution of July," took place in Paris. King Charles the Tenth, who had tried to crush the freedom of the press and to reduce the French Parliament to impotence, was overthrown, and Louis Philippe was set up in his place. There was some fighting in the streets of

the French capital, but the revolution was much less violent than that of 1789. The reformers knew where to stop, and established a limited monarchy with parliamentary government.

The success of the French revolution strengthened the reforming party in this country, for it showed that it was possible to effect a great political change without going into excess or plunging the nation into civil war. The first Parliament of William the Fourth, which met in November 1830, was elected under this impression, and the efforts of the reformers were rewarded with a Liberal majority. The Tory ministry was soon beaten on a financial question. The Duke of Wellington resigned, and Earl Grey took his place as Prime Minister, with a strong Whig ministry.

A Reform Bill was at once introduced by Lord John Russell, and the second reading passed the Commons by a majority of one. This majority was clearly not strong enough. The ministry were shortly afterwards beaten on a point of detail, and Parliament was dissolved (April 1831). The general election took place amid great excitement, public feeling ran strongly for the government, and ministers obtained a large majority.

Hitherto the struggle had been fought out in the constituencies, now that the nation had decided in favour of reform, the fight was between the people's representatives and the aristocracy. A new Bill, which differed but slightly from the old, was carried in the Commons by a majority of 109. The Lords rejected it, on the first reading, by a majority of 41 (October 1831).

The disappointment of the country showed itself in numerous riots. Bristol was for two days in the hands of a disorderly mob, Nottingham Castle was burned. These disturbances unfortunately alarmed the king, who had hitherto supported Lord Grey's government, and his hesitation nearly led to disastrous results.

When Parliament met again (December 1831) a third Bill was introduced, and passed by a majority of 116 in the Lower House (March 1832). This time the Lords accepted the second reading, but they practically destroyed the Bill by

cutting out the clauses which disfranchised the rotten boroughs (May) It appeared that the only way of overpowering their opposition was to create a number of new peers This the king refused to do, and the ministry therefore resigned

A very dangerous crisis now ensued All over the country the cry was raised for "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill" A revolution seemed imminent The political unions in Birmingham and other large towns prepared to march on London The Duke of Wellington undertook, at the king's command, to form a ministry, and was ready to put down popular gatherings by military force But he found that he could not rely upon the soldiers, and he shrank from the horrors of civil war

He therefore resigned the hopeless task, and the king was forced to recall Lord Grey, and to pledge himself, if necessary, to create new peers This threat broke down the resistance of the House of Lords The duke and his followers walked out of the House, and the Bill was passed amid immense rejoicing (June 1832)

The Reform Act of 1832 was not a democratic measure, but it made a great change in the distribution of political power By disfranchising fifty-six small boroughs, and depriving thirty-two others of one member each, it reduced the control hitherto exercised by the great landholders over the House of Commons It is true that this change was somewhat balanced by the addition of sixty-five members to the counties, where aristocratic influence was strong, but an equal number of seats was given to the great towns, which were generally independent of such control

At the same time, the franchise itself was extended, both in towns and in counties Hitherto freeholders alone had votes in the counties, now leaseholders and other classes of tenants got votes In the towns the franchise had varied widely, but was generally in the hands of a very small number of citizens, it was now extended to all persons occupying a house worth £10 a year Similar Acts were passed for Scotland and Ireland To put it shortly, the middle class throughout the kingdom was admitted to a fair share of political power

The first Parliament elected under the new law contained an enormous majority for Lord Grey's government, the Liberals stood to the Conservatives in the proportion of almost three to one. As might have been expected, several important reforms were introduced.

One of the first measures passed was an Act to reform the Irish Church. Other Acts were passed, admitting Quakers to Parliament, and granting an annual sum in aid of education. But the most important measure of this session was the Act which emancipated the slaves throughout the British colonies, at a cost of £20,000,000, which was paid by way of compensation to the slave owners (1833).

Next year (1834) a great Act was passed, amending the Poor Law, and restoring the principles adopted in Elizabeth's day. Out-door relief had for many years past been given to such a lavish extent that the poor-rate had risen to £8,500,000, and the poor were morally degraded by being encouraged to rely, not on themselves, but on the parish. The new Act formed groups of parishes into poor-law unions, cut down the number of workhouses and the amount of out-door relief, and so far diminished the number of paupers that in two years the rates were reduced by nearly one-third.

The next important change was that made in local government by the Municipal Reform Act (1835). The "corporations"—mayor and aldermen—which had hitherto governed the towns had been chosen by small bodies of citizens, who had inherited or acquired the "freedom" of the town. The mass of the inhabitants, including many who now had votes for Parliament, had no share in the government of their own borough. The corporations were often corrupt, and generally careless or incompetent. The new Act put local affairs under the control of a town council elected by all the inhabitants who contributed to the rates, and the government of the towns was thereby much improved. This was the last important piece of legislation which was passed in the reign of William the Fourth, who died in June 1837.

48. Foreign Policy and Canning.

1815-1830.

THE Congress of Vienna, which had been interrupted by the return of Napoleon from Elba in March 1815, resumed its labours after his final defeat, and completed the settlement of Europe. The general aim was to produce a "balance of power" which, it was hoped, would preserve peace. The great states, especially Austria and Prussia, received additions of territory, while other new states were formed, principally in order to set up a barrier against French aggression.

Prussia gained provinces on the Rhine and elsewhere, and now stretched nearly right across northern Germany. The rest of Germany was divided among some forty separate states. Norway and Sweden were formed into one kingdom, Holland and Belgium into another. Genoa was annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia, which included Savoy and Piedmont. The rich valley of the Po—that is, Lombardy and Venetia—with Venice, was given to Austria. The rest of Italy was divided among several states, the chief of which were the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the Papal States, and the Duchy of Tuscany.

Soon after the battle of Waterloo the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia entered into a compact, called the "Holy Alliance," the objects of which were to maintain peace in Europe, and to suppress all revolutionary tendencies. It was Alexander the First, the Czar of Russia, who started this league, but Metternich, the chief minister of Austria, soon became its real leader, and by its means he dominated Europe for some thirty years.

Great Britain declined to join the Holy Alliance, and even protested against its interfering in the affairs of other states. But the Tory party, which then held sway, generally supported the league, and Lord Castlereagh, who was Foreign Secretary from 1812 to 1822, was a personal friend of Metternich.

In 1818 the powers held a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle. At this meeting it was decided, chiefly through the influence of the Duke of Wellington, to withdraw the army of occupation which, under the Treaty of Paris, had remained in France since 1815. France was now readmitted to the "European concert"—that is, was invited to take a share in the discussion of European affairs with the other great powers. They soon had important matters to discuss.

The sovereigns who had been restored to their thrones in Spain and Italy, after the fall of Napoleon, were under the influence of the priests and the nobility. They suppressed all liberal tendencies, and governed very badly. The consequence was that in Spain, Naples, and elsewhere, insurrections broke out (1820). The sovereigns were at first compelled to submit, and despotisms were changed into limited monarchies. But Metternich, who detested all liberal movements, sent an Austrian army into southern Italy and Piedmont, which soon suppressed the reformers, and restored the Italian sovereigns to their former position (1821).

In Spain the reforming party went into excesses which brought about a reaction, and a civil war began. Canning, who in 1822 took Castlereagh's place as Foreign Secretary, tried to prevent any interference in Spain, but the other powers decided in favour of it. The party of the priests, who were opposed to all reform, had now got the upper hand in France. A French army was therefore sent into Spain (1823), and restored the king to power.

Meanwhile the Spanish colonies in South America had revolted against the mother country. The allied powers intended to help the King of Spain to recover his power there too, but this Canning refused to permit. He recognized the independence of the Spanish colonies, and declared that Great Britain would not allow them to be coerced. In this declaration he was supported by the government of the United States under President Monroe. Then joint action was successful, and the colonies established their independence.

A little later, Canning acted in a similar way in Portugal.

Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, who succeeded to the throne of Portugal in 1826, preferred to remain in Brazil. So he gave his Portuguese subjects a free constitution, and then handed over the throne of Portugal to his young daughter Maria. Her liberal government was attacked by the party of the priests, who tried to upset the new constitution.

The French, who had lately restored the Clerical party to power in Spain, now showed an intention to do the same in Portugal. But Canning promptly sent a squadron and a body of troops to the Tagus, which checked these intrigues. He thus saved the young queen's throne, and defended the cause of liberal government both against priestly tyranny and French influence.

Still more important was Canning's action in Greece. In 1821 the Greeks rose in revolt against their Turkish masters. For several years they held out gallantly against the Turks, in spite of their own internal dissensions, and gradually won over the public opinion of Europe to their cause. In Great Britain there was much enthusiasm for the Greeks, and many Englishmen went out to help them. Lord Byron, the great poet, went out to fight on their side, and died of fever at Missolonghi in 1824.

The Sultan of Turkey, unable to suppress the Greek revolt, now called in his vassal, Mehemet Ali, the Khedive of Egypt, to help him. The Khedive, an ambitious man, hoping to get his own advantage out of the struggle, sent his son, Ibrahim Pasha, with a fleet and army to the assistance of the Turks (1825). Ibrahim was fast getting the upper hand, when Canning interfered.

A new Czar, Nicholas the First, had just succeeded to the throne of Russia. Canning at once came to an understanding with the Czar, who was anxious to help the Greeks (1826). Prussia and Austria would not move, but France joined Great Britain and Russia, and in the Treaty of London (July 1827), the three powers agreed to interfere. Ibrahim was ordered to desist, and when he refused, the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were destroyed by those of Great Britain, France, and Russia in the battle of Navarino (October 1827).

Unfortunately, when this battle took place Canning was already dead, and the Duke of Wellington, who became Prime Minister in the following year, declined to carry on his policy. Thus the work of emancipating Greece was left to France and Russia. A French force landed and drove the Egyptians out of the Morea, while a war broke out between Russia and Turkey which forced the Sultan to recognize the independence of Greece (1829). But though we lost the credit of completing the work, its beginning was mainly due to Great Britain and Canning.

49. Sir Robert Peel, the Chartist and Free Trade—1837-1865.

WILLIAM THE FOURTH was succeeded by his niece, Victoria, daughter of the Duke of Kent. She was only eighteen years of age when she came to the throne. From the time of her accession she enjoyed that ever-increasing popularity which is the reward of a blameless life, a high sense of duty, and a true conception of the task that lies before a constitutional sovereign.

The Prime Minister, in 1837, was Lord Melbourne, an old follower of Canning. He had taken Lord Grey's place in 1834, when that minister resigned. But the great Whig majority of 1832 was fast dwindling away. It had been much reduced by the general election of 1835, and in the new Parliament, which met in November 1837, it fell to less than forty.

With so narrow a hold on power, it was not to be expected that the Whigs should carry many more reforms, nor, indeed, was there any crying demand for them. The measures passed during the first three years of the queen's reign were of no great importance, and in 1841 the ministry seemed to have come to the end of their programme. Soon afterwards they dissolved Parliament. At the general election the Conservatives gained a large majority. Lord Melbourne resigned, and

Sir Robert Peel, a Tory leader, who had been in office with the Duke of Wellington in 1828 and 1829, took his place

Thus, within ten years of the Reform Act, the impulse to reform seemed to be exhausted. But, in fact, it was only the middle classes who had ceased to clamour for political change. A movement was growing up among the working masses in the large towns which went far beyond that of 1832. This was the Chartist movement, so called from the "People's Charter," a document drawn up in 1838.

The Chartist programme demanded universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, and other advanced measures. It was, in fact, a thoroughly democratic movement, due to the disappointment felt by the masses at the results of the Reform Act, and to the misery which they were suffering from the high price of food and the want of employment.

Many laws had been passed, as we have seen, but the condition of the working classes had not been improved, and no improvement seemed likely without the possession of political power. "Universal suffrage," said one of the Chartist speakers, "means for every working man a good coat, a good house, and a good dinner, work enough for health, and wages enough for plenty." With this belief in their heads, no wonder that the number of the Chartists grew rapidly.

A petition in favour of their demands, signed by more than a million persons, was presented to Parliament in 1839, but it was at once rejected. Serious riots followed. Birmingham was sacked by the rioters, and at Newport, in Monmouthshire, an armed mob was only beaten off with difficulty, and with some loss of life, by the military.

Alongside of this revolutionary agitation, another movement of a more legal character was taking place. This was the movement in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws, which began with the formation of the Anti-Corn-Law League, at Manchester, by Cobden, Bright, and others, in 1838.

The members of this League held that the greatest obstacle to commercial progress was the high price of food. If food were cheaper, workmen would be able to live on lower

wages, thus our manufactures would be cheapened, and would have an advantage in the competition with foreign wares. A great increase of British trade would be the consequence.

Naturally this movement was opposed by the landlords and other persons concerned in agriculture. They received the name of "Protectionists," because they wished to protect British agriculture from the damage which it was supposed it would receive through the importation of cheap food from abroad. The Chartist, on their side, were also hostile to the Anti-Corn-Law League, because they thought that the repeal of the Corn Laws would only enrich the manufacturer, while the working man would be no better off than before.

It was under these conditions that Sir Robert Peel took office in 1841. One of his first measures was to modify the Corn Laws by the establishment of what is called a "sliding scale"—that is to say, the duty on foreign corn was made to rise as the price of British corn fell, and to fall as the latter rose. The object of this measure was to prevent bread from becoming too dear, but at the same time to keep the price up to a height at which it would pay the farmers to grow corn.

Peel was strongly convinced of the advantages of free trade. In his first Budget (1842) he took off the duties on a number of raw materials, and reduced many of those on manufactured goods imported from abroad. In 1845 he abolished at one stroke the duties on about four hundred and fifty kinds of goods. All British goods could now be exported free, and almost all sorts of raw materials could be imported without paying any duty. On the other hand, he revived the income tax, which had been dropped since 1815.

At length, in November 1845, Peel declared himself a convert to the Anti-Corn-Law League. His colleagues in the ministry at first refused to support him, but most of them afterwards came round. In January 1846 Peel brought in his proposal to repeal the laws imposing duties on foreign corn.

So great was his influence that he was able to convert a large portion of the Conservative party to his views. Still, he could never have carried his measure without the support of the

Whigs, whose leader, Lord John Russell, had lately declared for the League. The Protectionists resisted obstinately, but their opposition was gradually overcome, and in June 1846 the Corn Laws were repealed, together with the duties on imported beef and mutton, and many other articles of food. This was Peel's last great work. Shortly afterwards (1846) he resigned.

The financial policy of Peel was continued by Mr Gladstone, then a member of the Conservative party, but a leader of the "Peelites," as the Conservative free-traders were called. He became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1852. In 1853 he modified the tariff by abolishing the duty on a large number of articles, including soap. On the other hand, he laid an additional burden on the land, by making landed property liable to the succession duty—that is, the duty paid to government by those who succeed to an estate.

In 1855 Mr Gladstone resigned, but he returned to office in 1859, and his Budgets were the most remarkable feature in the next few years. He had now definitely broken with his old Conservative allies, and he was able fully to carry out the financial policy which he had inherited from Sir Robert Peel. In 1860 a sweeping revision of the tariff was made. Numerous duties on manufactured goods were repealed, and the duties on various articles of food—butter and cheese, eggs, currants, etc.—were reduced. A commercial treaty with France (1860), negotiated by Cobden, gave us cheap French wine. In 1861 the paper duty was abolished. Further reductions were made in 1862, and in 1865 the income tax fell to fourpence, and the duty on tea to sixpence.

Free trade may now be said to have been definitely established. The restrictive duties which had hampered our commercial development had disappeared, and commerce was really free. It developed "by leaps and bounds," and, though so many taxes had been taken off the revenue constantly increased. The national wealth had grown so fast that an income tax of sixpence in the pound produced in 1865 nearly as much as a shilling had produced fifty years before.

50. O'Connell and Ireland.

1815-1847.

ALTHOUGH Ireland was united to Great Britain by the Act of Union in 1800, she still maintained, in many respects, a separate existence. During this period Ireland had her own troubles and her peculiar grievances, and a series of laws was passed relating to Ireland alone. Thus her history must still be treated apart.

Pitt hoped that Irish troubles would become better known in England when Irish members sat in the Imperial Parliament, and he believed that those troubles would be more wisely dealt with in that Parliament than in a separate assembly at Dublin. But the Tory governments which held office for a generation after the Union too often turned a deaf ear to Irish complaints, and when, after 1832, more attention was paid to Irish questions, great ignorance prevailed as to their nature, and there was much reluctance to go to the roots of the difficulty.

The evils from which Ireland suffered after 1800 were principally these. In the first place, the Roman Catholics, who numbered five-sixths of the population, were excluded from Parliament and the higher official positions. The Protestant Church—the church of a small minority—was supported by tithes drawn from the mass of the people, believers in another creed.

Along with this religious inequality went many social troubles. There was little trade, agriculture was almost the only industry of the people, and agriculture was very backward. The population was too large, hence there was great competition for land, and rents were so high that it was impossible for most tenants to pay them. Miserable poverty was general throughout the west of Ireland. A part of Ulster alone, where the linen trade flourished, was prosperous.

The landlords, being for the most part stupid and wasteful,

took no pains to improve their estates, and were often heavily in debt. The society of Dublin was cultivated and even brilliant, but the people in general were utterly uneducated. The government of Dublin Castle, presided over by the Lord Lieutenant and his Chief Secretary, was careless and inefficient, and the evils of aristocratic influence, patronage, and jobbery were rife.

Such a state of things could not but produce widespread discontent. The great war on the Continent distracted the attention of the British Government, and encouraged the more violent and unruly elements in Ireland to band together. Though the rebellion of 1798 had been suppressed, its spirit was not dead. Hence the existence of many revolutionary or secret societies—the Whiteboys, the Orangemen, and others—which alarmed the government, and gave an excuse for measures of repression. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended six times between 1800 and 1824, and various Coercion Acts were passed.

But no attempt was made to remedy the evils which gave rise to discontent. The movement for Catholic Emancipation for a time absorbed the energies of the Irish people. It was successful as we have seen, in 1829, when one great mark of religious inequality was removed. But its leader, O'Connell, was not satisfied with this success. Catholic Emancipation was no sooner secured than he began to agitate for the repeal of the Union.

The Catholic Association was now revived under the name of the "Friends of Ireland." The agitation for "Repeal" soon became universal throughout Ireland and O'Connell's power over the Irish peasantry seemed unbounded. But the discontent was as much religious and social as political. A general resistance to the payment of tithes began, while agrarian outrages became more and more frequent.

Lord Grey's government felt it necessary to obtain special powers to enforce the law but they resolved to combine coercion with reform. A Coercion Act for Ireland was one of the first measures passed by the new Parliament (1833), but it

was immediately followed by an Act which reformed the Irish Church. This Act reduced the number of bishoprics, swept away various abuses, and freed the Romanists from payment of the church "cess," a tax levied for the maintenance of the parish churches.

The Irish question continued to occupy the Whig Government for several years, but their measures were half-hearted and ineffective. In 1838 an Act was passed which placed the collecting of tithes on a somewhat more satisfactory footing. In the same year the Irish Poor Law was amended, and in 1840 Irish municipal government was reformed. A little later Irish education was taken in hand. Colleges open to all religions were established at Cork, Galway, and Belfast, and a large annual grant was made to the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth (1845).

But nothing was done to improve the condition of the masses, and O'Connell, who had dropped his agitation against the Union since 1834, in the hope that efficient reforms would be carried out, now revived the cry for "Repeal." The movement was actively pushed by the "Young Ireland" party, monster meetings were held all over Ireland, and though everything was conducted in a regular and orderly way, the state of things became so alarming that Sir Robert Peel felt obliged to interfere.

In 1843 a great meeting at Clontarf, near Dublin, was prohibited, and shortly afterwards O'Connell, with several other leaders, was arrested on the charge of "conspiracy to intimidate the government, and to bring contempt upon the law." The trial that followed (1844) ended in the condemnation of O'Connell and his fellows. The verdict was reversed, on technical grounds, by the House of Lords, but O'Connell lost his influence, and the movement which he had headed collapsed for the time.

But though the cry for repeal ceased to be heard, the social evils which were its chief cause remained undiminished. Naturally, agrarian crime continued to increase, and the government had just passed another Coercion Act, when the



"Pray for Me!" By H. T. Wells, R.A., in the National Gallery of British Art
[Queen Victoria receiving the announcement of her accession to the throne]

futility of such measures was disclosed by the frightful famine which devastated the country in 1846. The potato crop failed, and thousands of people were reduced to starvation.

The famine was followed by fever, and in the midst of these troubles the landlords evicted large numbers of tenants, in order to reduce the excessive population. The government set on foot relief works for the starving people, and granted £10,000,000 for their assistance (1847), but the misery of the people during the years 1846-1848 was appalling. Large numbers emigrated, and the population fell, in a few years, from over eight millions to six and a half millions. This diminution of the population was, in itself, a material gain to those who were left, but the emigrants carried away with them a bitter sense of wrong which has been the source of many troubles.

51. Lord Palmerston—1830-1865.

THE Holy Alliance was broken up for a time when the Czar Nicholas joined the western powers with the object of liberating Greece in 1827. But the revolution in Paris (1830), and a rising in Poland, frightened him back into the arms of his older allies, Austria and Prussia. The three powers formally renewed their league in 1833.

On the other hand, the turn of affairs in Paris led to a good understanding between France and Great Britain. The new king, Louis Philippe, who had been raised to the throne by a revolution, was very coldly looked on by the eastern potentates. Isolated in Europe, he was compelled to court the friendship of Great Britain. The alliance which resulted from these conditions lasted till near the end of Louis Philippe's reign (1848).

During most of this time, Lord Palmerston, who was a follower of Canning, continued his policy as Foreign Secretary. Lord Palmerston was a man of great decision and audacity, even to rashness, and was intent on maintaining the influence

which Great Britain had gained by leading Europe against Napoleon. He generally sought to connect this country with liberal movements on the Continent, and opposed the despotic tendencies of the Holy Alliance.

One of the first results of the revolution in France was to cause an outbreak in Belgium, Holland and Belgium—combined under one ruler by the Congress of Vienna—differed in race, language, religion, and pursuits. Such a union could hardly last, and in 1830 the Belgians declared themselves independent. The Dutch marched an army against Brussels, and fighting began. The powers thereupon interfered. A conference was held in London, which resulted in Belgium being recognized as independent. Holland at first refused to give way, but was at length coerced by the joint pressure of a French army and the British fleet (1833).

Meanwhile, in Portugal, Don Miguel, the uncle of the young queen, Maria the Second, and the head of the Clerical party, had become regent (1828). He made use of his position to seize the throne, after which he abolished the constitution, and ruled in a tyrannical manner, which led to civil war. A somewhat similar conflict was raging in Spain. The king, Ferdinand, died in 1832, leaving his crown to his daughter Isabella, aged three years. His widow, Queen Christina, became regent. But his brother, Don Carlos, the head of the priestly faction in Spain, claimed the crown. The Liberals resisted his claim, and civil war was the result.

In order to save the Liberal cause in the Spanish peninsula, Lord Palmerston now made a compact with France and with the governments of Spain and Portugal, which was known as the Quadruple Alliance (1834). The result of this was that Don Miguel was expelled from Portugal, and that the Liberals in Spain were enabled to hold their own against the Carlists, as the supporters of Don Carlos were called. The Carlist War continued, however, for several years. A British legion, composed of volunteers, fought on the side of the government, and Don Carlos was at last expelled (1840). Three years later Queen Isabella was declared to be of age.

Meanwhile the Eastern Question had again come to the front Ibrahim Pasha, at the head of an Egyptian army, made war against the Sultan (1832) The latter appealed to Russia for aid, and Ibrahim had to desist, but the Sultan was forced to place himself under Russian protection, by the Treaty of Unkiarskelessi (1833) Palmerston was anxious to prevent the further growth of Russian power, which had begun to alarm both France and Great Britain. His opportunity came in 1839

In that year the war between Turkey and Egypt was renewed, and, as before, Turkey was badly beaten. In order to prevent Russia from interfering alone to save Constantinople—which would have strengthened her hold upon Turkey—Palmerston succeeded in persuading the other great powers, including France, to intervene along with Great Britain. But a question arose as to what should be done with Egypt

The French, eager to strengthen their influence at Cairo, wished to make Egypt a practically independent state. The British Government, on the other hand, was anxious to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire. Unable to bring France over to his views, Palmerston made a convention with Austria, Prussia, and Russia for joint action in the East, leaving France isolated (1840). The French were very indignant at this treatment, and threatened war.

But Palmerston took no notice of French threats. The British fleet was sent to the East, and several rapid blows—the most remarkable of which was the capture of Acre—forced Ibrahim to submit. The French cooled down, and a treaty was finally concluded between the five great powers in July 1841, by which Turkey was put under the joint protection of Europe. Thus Palmerston was completely successful both against Russia and against France.

During Peel's ministry (1841-1846) Palmerston was out of office. His place was taken by Lord Aberdeen. The good understanding with France was no longer what it had been. The conquest of Algeria, which had occupied France since 1830, led to a collision of British and French interests in

Morocco The somewhat hasty expulsion of a British subject, named Pitchard, from the island of Otaheite, led to the demand for an apology, which the French Government grudgingly made (1844) Still worse was the rivalry of the two powers in Spain, which came to a head when Louis Philippe married one of his sons to the heiress of the Spanish throne (1846) This marriage was a distinct breach of faith on the part of Louis Philippe

When Sir Robert Peel resigned in 1846, Lord John Russell, a veteran in the cause of reform, took his place The Liberals in the new Parliament, which met in 1847, almost exactly balanced the Conservatives, but the latter were disunited, owing to the division between the "Peelites," or free-traders, and the Protectionists Such a state of things made it impossible that any important legislation should take place The most influential man in the ministry was Lord Palmerston, who had been Foreign Secretary in all the Liberal governments since 1830, and who now again held that office

Lord John Russell retained office till 1852 His fall in that year was due to Lord Palmerston, whose haughty and independent temper had already got him into trouble two years before The Foreign Secretary has always stood in a closer relation with the crown than the other ministers, except the Premier, but Lord Palmerston had formed the habit of acting without consulting the queen, and had altered the dispatches after they had been settled in consultation with her In 1850 the queen felt constrained to administer a severe rebuke to the Foreign Secretary, insisting that proper attention should be paid to her constitutional rights

Notwithstanding this rebuff, Palmerston continued to exceed his authority, and in 1851 Lord John Russell called upon him to resign Palmerston's departure weakened the ministry, and he revenged himself upon the Prime Minister by proposing a motion about the army on which the government were defeated Lord John Russell thereupon resigned, and Lord Derby, with a Conservative ministry—in which Mr Disraeli was Chancellor of the Exchequer—took his place (1852).

But the new Parliament showed that on the great question of the time—that of free trade—the country was by no means inclined to adopt reactionary views. In order to help the farmers, Disraeli proposed to reduce the malt tax. The proposal was rejected, and Lord Derby resigned (December 1852). A coalition was now made between the Liberals and the "Peelites," and Lord Aberdeen became Prime Minister, with Lord Palmerston as Home Secretary.

Shortly afterwards the Crimean War—to be noticed presently—overthrew Lord Aberdeen. The coalition ministry had failed in their conduct of the war, their failure called forth general indignation, and in 1855, Lord Aberdeen resigned. The coalition broke up, but the Whigs continued in power, and Lord Palmerston became the head of a purely Whig government. Palmerston's tenure of power was a long one, he retained the Premiership—except during a brief interval in 1858–1859—till his death in 1865. During this period he was undoubtedly the first man in the nation, but his influence was of a negative kind. He smothered rather than encouraged legislation, and less political progress was made during these ten years than during any other decade since 1832.

52. Industry and Social Reform.

1815–1848.

THE rapid growth of British industry and commerce, which began about the middle of the eighteenth century, was kept up during the period of the French Revolution and the great war. It was not, indeed, till after 1789 that the full effect of the great inventions of the previous generation began to be perceptible. Important improvements in machinery still continued to be made, and during the war the use of machinery and steam in almost all varieties of manufacture became universal.

This change was by no means an unmixed good for the artisan, but it enabled Great Britain to take the lead of other countries, and to obtain command of the markets of the world. During the war on the Continent, European industry suffered terribly. But Napoleon tried in vain to close the markets of Europe to British goods. Our command of the sea enabled us to force an entry at many points, and British trade was stimulated rather than checked by the conflict.

After the war there was, as we have seen, grave commercial depression, but the Continent was no better off than Great Britain, and our industrial and commercial lead was maintained. About 1842 trade revived, and began to make a steady advance. This was assisted by the rapid growth of the railway system.

The first railway on which Stephenson's great invention, the steam locomotive, was used, was that between Stockton and Darlington, which was opened in 1825. But it was not till after 1840 that the "railway mania" set in, when Great Britain was soon covered with a network of lines. Steamships first plied on the Clyde in 1812, and the Atlantic was first crossed by a steamer in 1819. The commercial importance of this improvement in the means of communication need hardly be pointed out.

In spite of "Protection," the condition of agriculture was not flourishing. Indeed, the failure of the Corn Laws to save agriculture from depression was one of the chief arguments for their abolition. An enormous quantity of land was enclosed in the latter part of George the Third's reign, and the agricultural labourer often suffered much by this process, for he had no land of his own, and the common land was no longer available for feeding a cow.

The condition of the manufacturing classes between 1815 and 1840 was even worse than that of the rural labourer during this period. Wages fell continuously, while population rapidly increased, and there was very little emigration to relieve the strain of competition. The hours of work were very long, and work was irregular. Women and children were employed in

mines and factories without any supervision The results, both on health and morality, were lamentable

These facts were little known in Parliament, for the labouring class was unrepresented, and artisans could do little to help themselves by combination, the laws against which were very severe But these wretched conditions gradually passed away In 1824 the laws against combination, whether among masters or men, and those limiting the free movement of workmen from place to place, were repealed The right of combination was restricted in 1825, when it was made illegal to combine in order to intimidate employers, but from this time onward trade-unions grew and became powerful It was also about 1842 that the movement known as "co-operation" began

After the Reform Act, Parliament began to pay attention to the condition of the labouring classes Lord Ashley—better known as Lord Shaftesbury—won for himself an honourable name in this connection In 1833 an Act was passed limiting the employment of children in factories to those over nine years of age Shortly afterwards a commission of inquiry disclosed a frightful state of things in coal mines, which had degraded the colliers into the condition of savages Lord Ashley's Act (1842) prohibited the employment in coal mines of children under thirteen years of age, and of women altogether The hours of work for women and children were still further limited by Graham's Act (1844) and Fielden's Act (1847)

These wise reforms, combined with the revival of trade, which was largely due to Sir Robert Peel's financial policy, and above all to the abolition of the Corn Laws, improved the condition of the working classes The consequence was that the Chartist movement began to die away Still, for some time, it continued active A petition, demanding various revolutionary changes, was largely signed, and was presented to Parliament in 1842

A still larger petition was prepared in 1848, and the leaders declared that a procession of half a million of people would present it to Parliament Serious disturbances were expected, and military preparations were made under the

direction of the old Duke of Wellington. But when the day came the hearts of the leaders failed them, and no disturbance took place, while the signatures to the petition turned out to be largely fictitious. This was practically the end of the Chartist movement.

The increasing strength of public opinion, and of legal agitation for the purpose of bringing about political change, was shown during this period by the growth of political associations and public meetings—hitherto discouraged or put down by law—and of the newspaper press. It was during the agitation about the Reform Bill (1830–1832) that such associations and meetings began to be common. From that time onward their importance—notably displayed in the Anti-Corn-Law agitation—was constantly on the increase.

Before the Reform Act, newspapers were much hampered by a heavy tax of fourpence a copy. This was reduced to a penny in 1836, and a cheap newspaper thus became for the first time possible. Soon afterwards (1840) the postal system was radically improved by the introduction—owing to the suggestions of Mr Rowland Hill—of the uniform penny rate, a reform which has since been copied by every civilized country in the world.

National education—a subject hitherto neglected in England—began during this period to receive some attention. A grant to the National Society in aid of their schools was first made in 1833. In 1839 it was increased, and was brought under the control of a committee of the Privy Council.

The law of debt, hitherto cruel and often unjust, was improved by the Acts of 1813 and 1843, which distinguished between different classes of debtors, and enabled poor debtors to recover their freedom. The punishment of death was abolished in many cases. The police force was entirely reorganized—principally under Sir Robert Peel, from whom the policeman got his name of “Peeler”—and much greater public security was the consequence. Taken all together, the political, social, and financial reforms which distinguished the twenty years before 1848, constitute a greater advance than is to be found in any similar period of our history.

53. The Growth of the British Empire.

1815-1872.

THE loss of the United States of America in 1783 was more than balanced by the growth of our colonial power elsewhere during the next seventy years. This growth was due partly to conquest, partly to settlement, and partly to the natural development of young and healthy communities. A Greater Britain sprang into life in Canada, South Africa, and Australasia, while our Indian Empire continued to increase.

Canada, after 1763, had at first been governed as a conquered territory. In 1791 it was divided into two provinces—Upper and Lower Canada—and representative government, of a certain kind, was granted to each province. But this constitution was soon found to be unsatisfactory. The governors and the legislative councils were appointed by the home government, and the Assembly—an elective body representing the people—had no real power. In course of time this system produced its natural results: quarrels between the governors and the Assemblies became frequent, and at length, in 1837, a rebellion broke out.

The rebellion was easily suppressed, but the lesson of the American War had not been thrown away, and in 1840 the existing system was radically amended. The two provinces were united, the legislative council was enlarged, complete control over taxation was given to the Assembly, and the ministry became responsible to Parliament. Thus, although the governor remained responsible only to the crown, the Canadians obtained real self-government, and their discontent was fully allayed. Henceforward Canada made rapid progress. In 1867 the different provinces which had sprung up were formed into one great confederacy—the Dominion of Canada—with separate governments for local affairs, but one national Parliament under the crown.

The nucleus of British power in South Africa is the Cape

Colony, finally acquired from the Dutch in 1815. The transfer of allegiance from Holland to Great Britain led many of the Boers (that is, farmers) to emigrate into the still unoccupied country to the north and east. Thus the colony of Natal and a settlement across the Orange River were founded about 1837. In 1842 Natal was brought under British supremacy, in 1844 it was made a part of Cape Colony, and it became an independent colony in 1856. In 1872 the Cape received full rights of self-government.

The Australasian colonies had a very different origin from that of Canada and the Cape. It was in 1770 that Captain Cook, on his famous voyage of discovery, sighted Botany Bay, on the east coast of the vast and almost unknown continent of Australia. In 1788 Port Sydney was first occupied as a penal settlement to which criminals sentenced to transportation might be sent. But its advantages for other purposes were soon perceived. Sheep-farming in Australia began about 1797, and the original colony, called New South Wales, put forth a number of offshoots.

Gradually the various groups of settlements were formed into distinct colonies. New Zealand thus became separate in 1841, Victoria in 1850. The transportation of convicts was stopped in 1840, and the beginnings of representative government were introduced. In 1850 the discovery of gold in Australia led to a rapid growth in wealth and population, and was accompanied by the grant of self-government to the Australian colonies, a concession which two years later, New Zealand also received.

The extension of our dominion in India since 1815 has been the result of wars forced upon us, for the most part, by the danger of allowing any native power to eject our influence, and the difficulty of finding a natural frontier short of the Himalayas. Such a war broke out with the Marathas in 1817. Bands of freebooters, called Pindaris, who were mainly recruited from the Maratha tribes, ravaged central India and pillaged our allies and subjects. Lord Hastings, then Governor-General, resolved to put an end to this disorder.

The Maratha chiefs were invited to make common cause with us in putting down the robbers, but their head, the Peishwa, refused, and even made war upon the British. Several of his chief vassals followed him. The conflict which ensued resulted (1818) in the suppression of the Pindaris, the dethronement of the Peishwa, and the submission of the other chiefs. The Maratha power was thus finally broken.

From this time onward there was peace in India for nearly five-and-twenty years—an unheard of period of repose. The wars with Burma and Afghanistan, which took place during this interval, were fought beyond our frontier. The former was forced on us in 1824 by the Burmese, who seized some British territory. It ended (1826) in the cession of Assam to Great Britain.

The war with Afghanistan was a more serious matter. It was the first sign of the fears inspired by the advance of Russian power in Central Asia, for it arose from the reception by the Ameer of a Russian envoy at Kabul (1838). The British Government decided to depose the Ameer, Dost Mohammed, and to put another sovereign in his place. The first expedition was successful, and Shah Soojah, the British nominee, was placed on the throne of Afghanistan (1840). But this unjust and impolitic act brought about a fearful retribution.

An insurrection broke out (November 1841), which led to the murder of the British envoy, and the retreat of the British force from Kabul through the Khyber Pass (January 1842). The force was cut to pieces in this terrible passage—one man alone survived. To acquiesce in such a defeat was impossible. A second expedition marched to Kabul (1842), and inflicted some punishment, but the Afghans were then allowed to choose their own sovereign, and Dost Mohammed was restored to the throne. A terrible waste of life and treasure had been made for no advantage at all.

Soon after this the long period of peace in India came to an end. The refusal of the rulers of Sindh to pay their tribute led to a short war, ably conducted by Sir Charles Napier, which ended in the annexation of Sindh (1843). In

the same year domestic disturbances in the territory of the Maratha prince, Sindia, required British intervention, which resulted in the cession of the strong fortress of Gwalior, and the disbandment of Sindia's army

Two years later a much more serious conflict with the Sikhs began. The Sikhs, originally a body of religious enthusiasts whose faith was a mixture of the Mohammedan and Hindu creeds, had built up a formidable military power in the Punjab. Finding themselves hemmed in by British influence, they crossed the Sutlej in 1845, and invaded the territory of our allies.

After a series of pitched battles, very hotly contested, the Sikhs were driven back into their own territory (1846), and the British army advanced to their capital, Lahore. The Sikhs submitted, and a British resident was appointed to supervise the government. But two years later the province rose against British influence, and a second severe struggle was the result. After more than one drawn battle, the victory of Gujerat ended the war, and the Punjab was formally annexed to the British Empire (1849).

54. Foreign Policy and the Crimean War—1848-1858.

AT the opening of the year 1848 the French king, Louis Philippe, appeared as secure as he had ever been since his accession eighteen years before. But in February Paris again broke into revolution. Louis Philippe fled, and a republic was immediately proclaimed. The violence of the socialists soon caused a reaction. Hence the election (December 1848) of Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great emperor, as President of the Republic, and his advancement to the Empire in December 1852.

The shock of the French revolution was felt throughout

Europe Popular risings took place in almost every capital of Germany and Italy, the terrified sovereigns hastened to save themselves by granting some form or other of constitutional government. These outbreaks were accompanied by a strong movement in favour of German and Italian unity, which threatened the downfall of Austria. But after about eighteen months of violent commotion, the European governments recovered their control, Austria regained her former position, and German and Italian unity seemed further off than ever.

Great Britain took no active part in these events. Lord Palmerston gave plenty of good advice—which was not taken—to the various governments concerned, but declined any warlike intervention. Most people in this country would have been glad to promote the cause of reform, as well as that of German and Italian unity, but the latter could not be accomplished without the reduction of the Austrian Empire, whose power Palmerston was anxious to maintain as a counterpoise both to France and Russia.

The Great Exhibition held in London in 1851 seemed to proclaim the advent of universal peace, but within three years of that date another great war was raging in the east of Europe. In 1852 the Czar Nicholas, thinking that the time was come to recover the advantages which he had lost in 1841, picked a quarrel with Turkey about the custody of the Holy Places at Jerusalem. Anxious to buy off the opposition of Great Britain, he proposed a partition of the Turkish Empire, in which England was to have Egypt and Cete. This Lord Palmerston declined.

But the Czar was resolved on war, and early in 1853 he made demands upon Turkey which the Sultan refused. Thereupon a Russian army crossed the Pruth, and occupied Moldavia and Wallachia (July). A conference was held at Vienna, in which the great powers tried in vain to make peace between Russia and Turkey. Great Britain and France therefore made a treaty to act together, and sent their fleets to the Dardanelles. Thus encouraged, the Turks declared war on Russia, in October 1853.

At first the war went against the Turks, and their fleet was destroyed by the Russians in the harbour of Sinope. The British and French fleets were thereupon ordered to enter the Black Sea, and in March 1854 the two powers declared war. By land the Turks held their own. During the spring of 1854 they successfully resisted the advance of the Russians on the Danube, while the allied fleets drove the Russian squadrons in the Baltic and the Black Sea into port. Under these conditions, peace might probably have been made, but the opportunity of finally putting a stop to Russian aggression seemed too good to be lost, and the allies decided to invade the Crimea.

The troops landed in the Crimea on September 14, 1854, and marched on Sebastopol. The battle of the Alma was fought a few days later (September 20). The Russians held a strong position on the southern bank of the little river Alma, which the allies had to pass in order to reach Sebastopol. The French were on the right, near the sea, the British on the left. On the latter fell the chief brunt of the fight and three-fourths of the loss. The battle, which was won rather by hard fighting than by generalship, ended in the defeat of the Russians, who were driven back into Sebastopol.



412 Foreign Policy and the Crimean War.

Had the allied troops advanced immediately after this victory to the attack on Sebastopol, it would undoubtedly have fallen, for at this time it was very weakly defended. But, unfortunately, they preferred a regular siege, and the delay proved very disastrous. The town lies, for the most part, on the south side of a long inlet running in from the sea. The allies marched round the head of this inlet, and began the siege from the southern side, getting their supplies through the harbour of Balaklava, still farther to the south.

Meanwhile the Russians sank their ships in the entrance of the harbour, so as to prevent the allied fleets from forcing their way in, and they had time to strengthen their fortifications. On October 17 the bombardment of Sebastopol began. It lasted for a week, but produced little effect, and on October 25 the Russian army outside the city made an attempt to drive off the besiegers. The battle of Balaklava, which followed, was fought almost entirely by the cavalry. The British Heavy Brigade dashed through and through a largely superior body of the enemy, and later in the day the Light Brigade made its famous charge against the Russian guns. No more brilliant feat of arms was ever performed, but the brigade lost about two-thirds of its force, and the battle ended in favour of the Russians.

A still severer struggle took place on November 5, when the Russians in great force assaulted the British lines. For many hours the British troops, already much reduced in numbers, held the Inkermann ridge, from which the battle is named, against the Russians advancing from the city, who were joined by the army outside. At length, when the British were almost worn out, and could hardly have resisted another attack, the French came to their assistance, and completed the discomfiture of the Russians, already demoralized by successive repulses. Both sides lost heavily in this battle.

Soon after this the winter came on in full severity. The siege was maintained, but only at the cost of terrible suffering and great loss, more by illness and exposure than by battle. The British troops suffered even more than the French, chiefly



The Return from the Crimea. By Sir Noel Paton, R S A

owing to the inexperience and mismanagement of the War Office—the natural result of forty years of peace. So great was the popular indignation that the ministry of Lord Aberdeen resigned. His place was taken by Lord Palmerston, who infused a new spirit into the administration, and much improved the state of things in the Crimea. At the same time, the military hospitals were reformed, chiefly through the agency of Miss Nightingale.

In the summer of 1855 the siege was vigorously pressed on. Some small successes were won, and in June a great assault was made. But the fortifications were too strong, and the assault was repulsed. In August a general bombardment took place, and on September 8 another assault was ordered. The British troops, too few in number, were repulsed from the fort which they attacked, called the Redan. But the French succeeded on their side—they took the Malakoff Tower. The southern half of Sebastopol thus became untenable, and the Russians withdrew. The siege was at last at an end.

There was now no further reason to continue the war, and peace was made in March 1856. Russia ceded a strip of Bessarabia, gave up the protectorate of the Danubian provinces, and agreed to neutralize the Black Sea, which meant that no ships of war, Russian or other, should be allowed upon its waters. Shortly afterwards (1858) Great Britain, France, and Austria entered into a compact to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire.

55. The Indian Mutiny.

THE Crimean War was hardly over when we became engaged in a desperate struggle to maintain our empire in India. Since the conclusion of the Sikh War in 1849 several events had occurred to alienate the upper classes in India from our allegiance. Lord Dalhousie, who was Governor-General from 1848 to 1856, continued, with more energy than discretion, the policy of annexation which had led to the con-

quest of Sindh and the Punjab Whenever a ruling native family became extinct, he declared its territory annexed to the dominions of the East India Company

In this way the Maratha territories of Sattarah and Nagpore were annexed, and on the death of the Rajah of Jhansi, his widow was not allowed to succeed to his dominions When the Peishwa—the titular head of the old Maratha confederacy—died, Lord Dalhousie refused to recognize, as his heir, his adopted son, Nana Sahib, who was thus turned into a bitter foe of the British rule. Still more important was the annexation of Oudh, the great native state which, since the days of Clive had been nominally independent, though under British influence This act was probably inevitable The government of the Nawab, who reigned at Lucknow, had become so corrupt and mischievous, that after long hesitation it was decided to depose him and to annex his province (1855)

Meanwhile a dangerous spirit of disaffection was spreading in the native army The British conquests had been mainly won by native troops under the command of British officers, and these troops had come to believe themselves invincible They were discontented because promotion was refused, and at the same time their religious prejudices were aroused The levelling tendencies of British government seemed to degrade the high-caste sepoy, and to place him on a level with men of a lower caste, whom he despised But the immediate cause of the outbreak was the introduction of the Enfield rifle, which involved the use of cartridges These cartridges were greased, and, in order to use them, the soldier had to open the cartridge with his teeth It was believed that the grease was made from the fat of pigs, which the Mohammedan holds in abomination, or of cows, an animal sacred to the Hindus Thus the use of the cartridges was regarded by both as a defilement, and the order to use them appeared to be a deep-laid plot to destroy the native religions

In February 1857 a regiment at Berampore refused to take the cartridges, and broke out into mutiny A month later a fanatical sepoy murdered a British officer at Barrack-

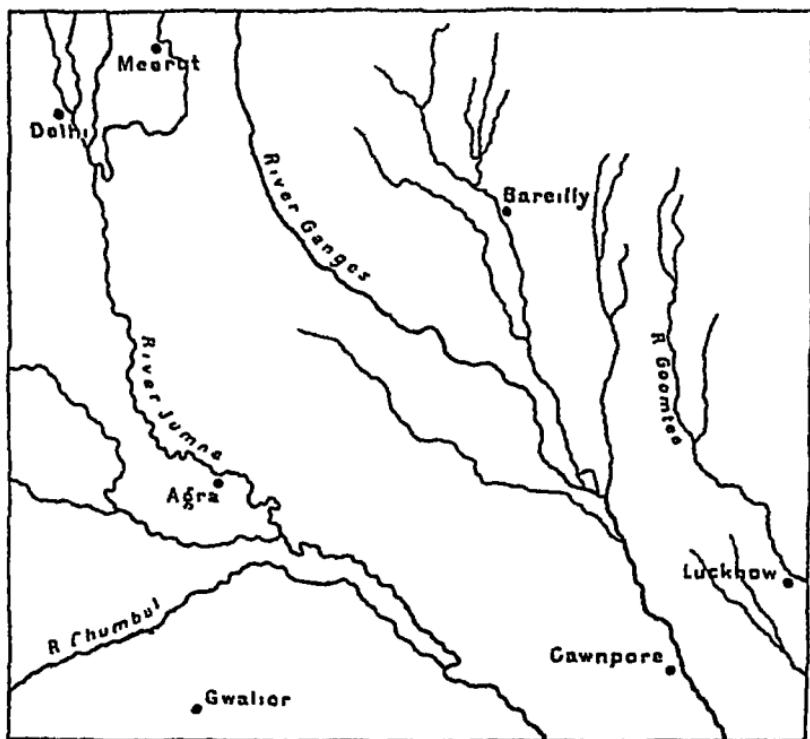


“Jessie's Dream” By F. Goodall, R.A. In the Wapping Art Gallery (By permission of the Corporation of Sheffield) [An incident in the siege of Lucknow during the Indian Mutiny.]

pore. Inquiries brought out the fact that a great part of the army was disaffected, and that mysterious cakes, called *chupatties*, were passed about the country, as a warning to the people to prepare for revolt. On April 24 a number of troopers at Meerut refused to accept the ammunition given them. A fortnight later these men were put in irons, in the presence of the whole regiment, and lodged in prison. But next day (May 10) their companions rose in mutiny, rescued the prisoners, and escaped to Delhi.

Then the rebellion broke out in all its fury. Fortunately its area, though large, was limited. It extended over the kingdom of Oudh and the district known as the North-West Provinces, comprising the great plains watered by the Ganges and the Jumna, with their centre at the old Mogul capital of Delhi. Bengal itself, the oldest portion of the British dominions, was hardly affected, and the Punjab, the latest conquest, was kept quiet by the skill of Sir John Lawrence and the fidelity of the Sikhs, who, having fought us gallantly ten years before, were now our firm friends. In Central India there were isolated movements, but fortunately the great Maratha princes, Holkar and Sindia, and the Nizam of Hyderabad, remained faithful, and help could therefore be sent from the southern presidencies of Bombay and Madras.

At first the mutineers had it all their own way. In several places terrible massacres took place. The worst of these was at Cawnpore, where a small body of Europeans, with women and children, had taken refuge in the barracks. Here they were attacked by a large force of sepoys, under Nana Sahib. After a gallant defence, lasting three weeks, they were forced to accept the terms offered by Nana, who promised to send them down the river by boats to Allahabad. No sooner had they entered the boats than the sepoys opened fire upon them, and killed all the men but two (June 27). The women and children were shut up in Cawnpore, and there, on July 12, when a British force was approaching, they were all murdered, to the number of 200, and their bodies thrown into a well. Such atrocities as this made the war one of extermination.



Meanwhile the main struggle centred round the great cities of Delhi and Lucknow. From the first it was seen that Delhi, where large bodies of mutineers had collected, was the most important point, and that, till it was taken, little advance could be made elsewhere. Early in June a small British force occupied a ridge to the north of the city, which they held in spite of all the efforts of the sepoy to dislodge them. Dwindling daily from battle and disease, they held on under the fierce heat of an Indian summer, until at length they received reinforcements, which enabled them to make an assault. Batteries were raised which made a breach in the walls. One of the great gates was blown in by a small party of engineers, most of whom were killed, and on September 14 the assault began. After five days of desperate fighting, in which General Nicholson, the hero of the siege, was killed, Delhi was at length won.

The defence of Lucknow was as brilliant as the siege of Delhi. There, since mid June, a small body of British troops and loyal natives, with many women and children, had been

besieged in the Residency by a large force of mutineers Sir Henry Lawrence, who commanded, was killed early in the siege General Havelock marched to their assistance, but though he beat the rebels at Cawnpore, in July, it was the 25th of September before he could reach Lucknow

By that time Havelock's forces were so reduced by constant fighting as to be unable to bring away the sick and wounded and the helpless, and all he could do was to join the garrison and wait for further help The capture of Delhi set at liberty the British forces there, and with these and other troops Sir Colin Campbell fought his way to Lucknow and rescued the garrison (November 17) But Lucknow itself remained in the hands of the enemy, and became for a while the chief centre of resistance When it was finally taken by Sir Colin Campbell, in March 1858, the issue of the struggle was no longer doubtful

Meanwhile, in the cooler winter weather, the restoration of order was proceeding rapidly Although Sindia had remained faithful, his troops had revolted, and had joined the enemy They were utterly defeated at Allahabad in December 1857 About the same time, Sir Hugh Rose, marching north from Bombay, attacked the enemy in Central India He defeated the chief rebel leader, Tantia Topi, and stormed the strong fortress of Jhansi (April 5) Soon afterwards he took Calpee, and on June 19 the stronghold of Gwalior

These successes put an end to organized resistance, but it was not till the early part of 1859 that the embers of insurrection were finally trodden out and order fully restored It had been a terrible struggle, in which even British tenacity and courage were hardly able to win the victory against overpowering numbers of drilled and well-armed troops Our success was largely due to the fidelity of the Sikhs and some other native troops, the loyalty of Sindia and other great native princes, and the hold upon Bengal and the south which a century of good government had given us

The chief political result of the Mutiny was that the supremacy of the old East India Company came to an end.



The Relief of Lucknow (meeting between Generals Sir Henry Havelock, Sir James Outram, and Sir Colin Campbell)
By Thomas J Barker

By an Act passed in 1858 India was transferred to the crown, to be governed henceforward by a Viceroy, acting under a Secretary of State, assisted by a Council of fifteen members. Thus the process begun by Lord North's Act in 1773 was now complete. The title "Empress of India," assumed by Queen Victoria in 1876, was merely a symbol that India had passed from the control of a body of merchants to that of the nation.

56. Political Reform and Ireland.

1848-1880.

LORD PALMERSTON'S period of office was remarkable, as we have seen, for a political apathy which affected both of the great Parliamentary parties. The only political reforms of any consequence which had been carried since 1846 were the Bribery Acts (1852 and 1854), which aimed at purifying Parliamentary elections, and the admission of Jews to Parliament, which took place, after a long conflict between Lords and Commons, in 1858. But in 1865 the mind of the country was changing. The general election of that year resulted in a large Liberal majority, while the death of Lord Palmerston (October 1865) removed the chief obstacle to political reform.

Early in 1866 Mr Gladstone introduced a Reform Bill on behalf of the Liberal government. But some of the Liberals deserted their leaders, and the government was defeated. Lord Derby, with a Conservative ministry, came into power (June 1866). The reform party throughout the country now began an active agitation, and an alarming riot took place in Hyde Park. It was evident that a change must come, and the Conservative Government formed the conclusion that they had better take it in hand themselves. A Reform Bill was therefore introduced by Mr Disraeli (then Chancellor of the Exchequer) early in 1867.

But the Conservative leaders could only pass their Bill with the aid of the Liberal party, consequently it became a much stronger measure than the government had intended. It introduced what are called the "household" and "lodger" franchises in the boroughs—that is, every occupant of a house paying his own rates, and every lodger paying a rent of £10 a year, were admitted to the franchise. In the counties the franchise was also lowered, all occupants of land rated at £10 a year obtaining a vote. At the same time, a redistribution of seats took place, several of the large towns receiving an additional member. Reform Bills were also passed for Scotland and Ireland.

The main outcome of the Act was that the better class of artisans obtained a share of political power, and that the boroughs—the chief centres of political activity—gained a still larger preponderance over the counties than before. The effects of this great change were soon apparent. The general election of 1868 resulted in an enormous Liberal majority. Mr Disraeli, who had taken Lord Derby's place as Prime Minister, resigned, and Mr Gladstone took office at the head of the strongest government that had been in power since 1832.

The Irish Question was the first thing that demanded his attention. It is necessary therefore to explain what had happened in Ireland since 1847. The famine of 1846 and the misery that followed led to an abortive rebellion in 1848, which was suppressed by a few police. Soon afterwards the government, in order to improve the condition of the land, passed the Encumbered Estates Act (1848), by which bankrupt owners, whose debts led them to oppress their tenants, might be obliged to sell their lands. But this did little good, for the new owners showed their tenants no more mercy than their predecessors.

About 1859 the so-called "Fenian" movement began. The Fenians, who received their chief support from Irish emigrants in America, aimed at making Ireland independent by revolutionary methods. In 1865 information reached the government which led them to arrest O'Donovan Rossa and several other leaders. Inquiry proved the existence of a

dangerous conspiracy, with a secret organization extending all over Ireland

The Habeas Corpus Act was hastily suspended, many conspirators were seized, others fled, and the danger seemed to be over. But the movement was not crushed. In 1867 the country was alarmed by the discovery of a plot to surprise Chester Castle, by the successful rescue of some Fenian prisoners at Manchester, and by an attempt to blow up Clerkenwell Prison. In the two last affairs several lives were lost.

These acts, reprehensible as they were in themselves, brought to light the desperate passions roused by generations of misery and neglect, and forced Parliament to pay attention, too long deferred, to the grievances of Ireland. The root of the trouble was the land question, but the existence of the Established Protestant Church in Ireland, drawing large endowments from a Roman Catholic country, was a grievance which it was more easy to remedy. It was therefore first attacked.

In March 1869 Mr Gladstone introduced a Bill to disestablish the Irish Church. It was vigorously opposed by the Conservatives, but passed by large majorities, and was accepted by the Lords (July). By this Act the Protestant Church in Ireland was disconnected from the state, and placed on a level with other religious communities, consequently the Irish bishops lost their seats in the House of Lords.

The land question, a far more thorny subject, remained. The discontent of the Irish peasantry was chiefly due, it was believed, to the frequency of evictions, without compensation for such improvements as the tenants might have made on their land, and to the obstacles which prevented their parting with their rights as tenants at a fair price. The Land Act of 1870, which was supported by both parties, endeavoured to remove these grievances, and also encouraged Irish tenants to purchase their farms by arranging to lend them money for this purpose.

Having thus, as they fondly hoped, given satisfaction to Ireland, the government turned to other matters. The Education Act of 1870, introduced by Mr Forster, placed national

education in England for the first time on a worthy footing. Where education was deficient, or where the inhabitants wished it, school boards were to be established. These boards, subject to the general control of government, were empowered to levy rates and manage the schools within their districts.

In 1871 the English universities were for the first time fully thrown open to Nonconformists. In the same year promotion by purchase in the army was abolished. The Ballot Act, passed in 1872, aimed at purifying Parliamentary elections by reducing the risk of bribery and intimidation. But next year Mr Gladstone was beaten in his endeavour to reform the system of higher education in Ireland, and in 1874 he dissolved Parliament.

The general election of that year produced a strong Conservative majority. Mr Gladstone resigned, and Mr Disraeli became Prime Minister. The change in public opinion proved that extensive reforms were no longer required, nevertheless the Conservative Government carried some useful measures, by which artisans' dwellings were improved, merchant ships protected against overloading, and education pushed forward.

But during the latter part of Mr Disraeli's administration—he was raised to the peerage as Lord Beaconsfield in 1876—public attention was chiefly occupied by two things—foreign affairs (which will be discussed presently), and the revival of the Irish Question in a new form. About the year 1868 Fenianism had given place to a new movement of a more constitutional kind, which aimed at obtaining "Home Rule"—that is, self-government for Ireland—by Parliamentary means.

But Parliament was at this time almost unanimous against Home Rule. In 1877 a motion in its favour was rejected by 417 to 67. Thereupon the more ardent Home Rulers, under the leadership of Mr Parnell, set to work with the deliberate intention of forcing their views upon the House of Commons by obstructing its business in every possible way. All-night sittings became frequent, and the House was forced to adopt new and stringent rules to put a stop to this "obstruction."

In 1879 the movement entered on another phase. A period of agricultural distress set in, which led to the formation of the Irish Land League by Mr. Davitt. This association aimed at obtaining for Irish tenants property in the land, and a violent agitation against the payment of rent was commenced. A great impulse was thus given to Home Rule, for a practical object was now set before the Irish peasantry.

Meanwhile the foreign and Indian policy of Lord Beaconsfield had roused much opposition in the country, and the general election of March 1880 ended in a complete defeat of the Conservatives. The Liberals in the new Parliament numbered 349, while the Conservatives only mustered 243, and the Home Rulers 60. Lord Beaconsfield therefore resigned, and Mr. Gladstone again took office at the head of a Liberal ministry. A year later Lord Beaconsfield died (April 1881).

57. The Foreign and Colonial Policy of Lord Beaconsfield—1874-1880.

FOR many years after the Crimean War, Great Britain took no important part in European politics. The great events which created the German Empire and the kingdom of Italy, and made Germany the leading power on the Continent, took place without our intervention. We maintained a strict neutrality during the war between France and Austria in 1859, the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, and the Franco-German war of 1870-71. When, in 1870, Russia repudiated the Black Sea treaty, and thereby wiped out the results of the Crimean War, Great Britain could do nothing but protest.

In the great conflict between the Northern and the Southern States of America (1861-1865) our neutrality was not quite so strictly observed. The seizure by a Northern cruiser of two Southern envoys on board a British ship, the *Trent* (1861), nearly led to a rupture with the North, while

Lord Palmerston's government—which on the whole sympathized with the North—allowed the escape from Liverpool of a Southern privateer, the *Alabama*, which afterwards did much damage to Northern commerce (1862). On the other hand, we bore without protest the blockade of the Southern ports, which, by cutting off the supply of cotton, inflicted great loss on our mill-owners and terrible distress on the working classes.

The revival of the Eastern Question in 1876 gave Lord Beaconsfield an opportunity of again bringing Great Britain to the front. In January of that year we joined the other powers in urging Turkey to reform her government. In the following May an insurrection broke out in Bulgaria. It was put down by the Turks with great cruelty, and horrible massacres took place. In June, Servia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey. Their defeat by the Turks led Russia to interfere. A conference of the great powers was held in Constantinople (December), but the powers could not agree on joint action, and their discussions therefore produced no result.

Russia thereupon decided to act alone. In April 1877 she declared war, and invaded Turkey. After several repulses, the Russians were at length victorious, and in January 1878 they reached Adrianople. The Russian victories caused much excitement in Great Britain. Many who, after the Bulgarian massacres, had demanded strong measures against Turkey, were now led by the fear of Russia to take the opposite side. Parliament granted £6,000,000 for the army and navy, and a popular song, from which the war party got the name of "Jingoes," was enthusiastically sung in London. But public opinion was much divided, and many people had no wish to fight for Turkey.

In March the Treaty of San Stefano was made between Russia and Turkey, by which Turkey recognized the independence of Bulgaria, and ceded extensive territories to Russia. Lord Beaconsfield demanded that this treaty should be submitted to a European congress. He had already sent up a fleet to Constantinople, he now called out the reserves, and brought troops from India to Malta. But though his majority in

Parliament remained firm, it became clear that public opinion was not in favour of a war, while the Russian Government, after a first refusal, consented to a congress. Having gained this point, Lord Beaconsfield came to terms secretly both with Turkey and with Russia.

In June he attended a conference at Berlin, at which the Treaty of San Stefano was somewhat modified in the interests of Turkey, but its chief provisions were confirmed. By the Treaty of Berlin, Serbia, Roumania, Montenegro, and northern Bulgaria were declared independent, eastern Roumelia became a self-governing state under Turkey, Russia retained Bessarabia, with Kars and Batoum, Austria occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina. Under a secret treaty with Turkey, Great Britain occupied Cyprus, undertaking in return to preserve the Sultan's Asiatic territory from further loss. Thus, although Lord Beaconsfield had enforced the right of Europe to intervene between Russia and Turkey, he failed to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire, which had received a very severe blow.

His Indian policy led to serious troubles with Afghanistan, which he was unable to bring to a conclusion. Since 1859 there had been a long period of peace in India, during which the finances were reformed, the army was reorganized, and trade and agriculture were encouraged by the making of roads, railways, and great works of irrigation. This peaceful progress was interrupted by the revival of the Afghan Question in 1877.

Since 1843 the Amirs or native rulers of Afghanistan had been faithful to the British cause. They had been left to manage their own affairs, and had not been required to receive a British resident. Unfortunately the hostile attitude of Lord Beaconsfield's government towards Russia in 1877 led the Czar to open negotiations with Afghanistan, which the Amir, offended by our refusal in 1873 to form a close alliance with him, seemed inclined to welcome. This gave Lord Beaconsfield an excuse for demanding that a British resident should be received at Kabul.

On this being refused war was declared, and Afghanistan

invaded (1878) The invasion was made by three armies, and was completely successful Shere Ali, the Ameei, fled and was killed, and his son Yakoob Khan was set up in his place In the Treaty of Gandamak (May 1879), Yakoob ceded some strong places on the frontier, and agreed to receive a British resident.

Then the events of 1841 repeated themselves A rebellion broke out, the resident, Major Cavagnari, and his escort were murdered, and a second invasion had to be made (October 1879) Kabul was occupied by General Roberts, but the Ameei had no authority beyond the reach of British arms, and was deposed The country fell into a state of anarchy, civil war broke out between two pretenders, Abdurrahman and Ayoob Khan, and General Roberts was shut up in his entrenched camp outside Kabul Before the issue of this struggle was decided, Lord Beaconsfield had resigned

Finally, his policy in South Africa raised difficulties with which his successor had to cope Beyond the Orange Free State the Dutch Boers had established themselves as an independent community, in the so called province of the Transvaal Misled by false information respecting public opinion in the Transvaal, the Conservative government in 1877 declared that district annexed to the British crown The Boers, who were very poor at that time, and also could hardly hold their own against the natives, acquiesced in the annexation for a while

In 1878 a quarrel was picked with the Zulus, a warlike race, who under their king, Cetshwayo, had formed a strong military state to the north of Natal, and threatened the safety of the colony The first invasion led to a terrible disaster at Isandlwana (January 1879), where a British regiment was cut to pieces, but in subsequent battles the natives were defeated, and their country was conquered and divided among several chiefs Thus the aggressive policy of Lord Beaconsfield led to a large apparent increase of British influence in South Africa, but it was strongly condemned by many, and its unfortunate results were yet to be seen

58. Mr. Gladstone's Ministry.

1880-1885.

WHEN Mr Gladstone succeeded to power in April 1880, he began by announcing a policy of conciliation in Ireland. But the failure of this policy was at once apparent. The agitation against the payment of rent in Ireland was accompanied by so many acts of violence, that the government was forced (January 1881) to introduce a new Coercion Bill. In the debate on this Bill the conduct of the Irish members was so outrageous that thirty-six Irishmen were temporarily expelled from the House. In Ireland a reign of terror was established. The law was set at defiance by the Land League, several murders and many outrages were committed, and the system of "boycotting" was fully developed.

Mr Gladstone endeavoured to remove the grievances which were supposed to lie at the root of these disorders, by passing his Irish Land Act (1881). This Act gave the tenant full right to sell his lease, and to have his rent settled by a Land Court, acting through commissioners in the different districts. The rents were to be settled for fifteen years, and meanwhile the tenant could not be evicted, so long as he paid this "judicial" rent. Soon afterwards the Land Court got to work, and largely reduced the rents in many parts of Ireland.

But the Land Act, though it removed all legitimate ground of complaint, did not satisfy the League. Mr Painell, urged on by the Irish-American faction, declared for "pannie-rent"—that is, for a rent reduced to the nominal value of uncultivated land. His violent proceedings led to his arrest, and the proclamation of the League as an "illegal and criminal association". He was released, however, shortly afterwards, on condition (it was understood) that he should help the government to maintain order. But the forces which he had himself called into action were too strong for Mr Painell. A short time after his release the country was horrified by the murder of Lord

Frederick Cavendish (the new Chief Secretary) and Mr Burke in Dublin, which was followed by several murders in Connaught

These events led to the passing of the Prevention of Crimes Act (1882), the severest coercion law of modern times. Under its provisions some advance was made in the restoration of order. In 1883 the murderers of Lord Frederick Cavendish were discovered and punished. The number of agrarian crimes diminished in 1883 and 1884, but, on the other hand, the malignant attempts of the more violent Irish-American party to strike terror by means of dynamite outrages in London rather tended to increase.

During the first four years of its existence the Gladstone government, besides dealing with Ireland, passed several minor domestic measures, but it was not till 1884 that it produced any of first-rate importance. In that year a Bill for the reform of the franchise was brought in, and after a quarrel between the two Houses, which at one time threatened to be serious, it was accepted by the Lords. Early next year (1885) a Redistribution Bill also passed both Houses.

The effect of this, the third great Parliamentary reform of the century, was to place the rural constituencies on a level with the boroughs, and to give the vote to all householders. The lodger-franchise was also extended, and servants living apart from their employers received a vote. As the Act of 1867 enfranchised the artisan, so that of 1884 enfranchised the agricultural labourer. In the redistribution of seats, London and the great towns obtained a number of additional members, while the larger constituencies were subdivided, and a long step was taken in the direction of equal electoral districts.

On taking office in 1880 the Gladstone government found two important foreign questions awaiting solution—those of Afghanistan and the Transvaal. Lord Beaconsfield had already decided to retire from Afghanistan, and Mr Gladstone hastened to adopt this policy. Unfortunately, before the withdrawal could take place, Ayoob Khan cut to pieces a British force at the battle of Maiwand, and besieged Kandahar.

General Roberts at once set out from Kabul, reached

Kandahar by forced marches over a difficult country, routed Ayoob's army, and relieved the beleaguered garrison. This brilliant feat of arms restored our prestige, but led to no other result. Abdurrahman was recognized as Ameer, and the British forces then withdrew, leaving the new Ameer to establish his power as best he could (1880). Kandahar was given up to him next year. It was a very poor result to achieve at the expense of so much blood and treasure.

The government had hardly extricated themselves from these difficulties, when the consequences of Lord Beaconsfield's South African policy appeared. In spite of the remonstrances of the Boers, Mr Gladstone had decided to maintain the annexation of the Transvaal. In December 1880 the Boers revolted, proclaimed a republic, and invaded Natal.

Ill-advised efforts to drive them from their position, made by an incapable commander, led to severe reverses, and at last to a disgraceful defeat at Majuba Hill (February 1881). Thereupon Mr Gladstone came to terms with the Boers, revoked the annexation, and left the Boers to govern themselves under the suzerainty of Great Britain. Most people thought that, if this was to be the end, independence should have been granted before rather than after British defeats.

Meanwhile a harvest of trouble was growing up on the banks of the Nile. In 1875 Great Britain and France had been obliged to interfere in Egypt, in order to check the Khedive's misgovernment, and protect the interests of the numerous bond-holders who had invested money in the country. This interference was resisted by the Khedive, Ismail, who was deposed, Tewfik being set up in his stead. The new Khedive was obliged to consent to what was called the "Dual Control" (1878), an arrangement under which France and Great Britain each nominated one of the Khedive's ministers, and jointly supervised the government of the country.

This plan worked fairly well for two or three years. But there was a national party in Egypt, especially strong in the army, and headed by an officer named Arabi, which resented all foreign control. In 1881 the troops mutinied, and forced

Tewfik to dismiss his ministers and appoint a purely national ministry. Arabi thus became master of the situation.

Early in 1882 the British and French fleets were sent to Alexandria, and the two powers demanded the dismissal of Arabi. But the Khedive was powerless to grant this demand, on the contrary, he had to flee from Cairo. A riot broke out in Alexandria, in which some British officers were killed, the Egyptian army manned the forts, and prepared for resistance. The Sultan declined to intervene, the French refused to go any further, and withdrew their ships. Great Britain had therefore to act alone.

On the eleventh of July the forts of Alexandria were bombarded and the town taken, on the twelfth of September the Egyptian forces were put to flight at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. Soon afterwards Arabi was taken prisoner, and the Khedive was restored to power. But the Dual Control was not revived. Egypt passed under a sort of British protectorate, which has been maintained ever since.

Meanwhile, the eastern Sudan—that is, the upper valley of the Nile about Khartum, formerly part of the Khedive's dominions—had fallen under the sway of a Mohammedan prophet, called “the Mahdi.” The Khedive was advised by the British Government not to attempt the reconquest of the Sudan. But some of his troops were still in Khartum, and in danger of destruction. General Gordon, an adventurous and high-minded man, was sent to take command of these troops (January 1884), and was soon besieged by the Mahdi in Khartum.

It was not till the autumn of 1884 that Lord Wolseley started with an expedition up the Nile to effect his rescue. Early in 1885 the expedition, after fighting several desperate battles with the Sudanese, reached the Upper Nile at Metamneh, within a short distance of Khartum, only to find that the city had fallen and that Gordon was killed. Nothing more was to be done. The British forces retired down the Nile, and Wady Halfa was adopted as the southern frontier of Egypt. It remained the frontier till 1896, when the reconquest of the Sudan was begun by the occupation of the Nile valley as far south as Dongola.

59. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury.

1885-1895.

THE Liberal government had not gained credit by its conduct of foreign and colonial affairs. If the policy of Lord Beaconsfield had been rash and aggressive, that of Mr Gladstone, excepting his action in Egypt in 1882, had been vacillating and weak. His Irish policy had also failed, and his majority fell away. In the summer of 1885 he resigned, and Lord Salisbury took office as Prime Minister.

The change of ministry was followed by a general election, the results of which gave neither of the two great parties an undisputed lead. The new Parliament contained 333 Liberals, 251 Conservatives, and 86 Irish Home Rulers. Mr Parnell, the Irish leader, thus became master of the situation, for neither party could hold office without his assistance.

Soon afterwards it was rumoured that Mr Gladstone had made up his mind to adopt Home Rule, as the only chance of satisfying Ireland and getting rid of the Irish Question. Early in 1886 these rumours were confirmed. The Conservative government was soon overthrown (February 1886), and Mr Gladstone again took office.

He at once introduced two Irish Bills, one for Home Rule—establishing a separate Parliament for Ireland, with full control over Irish affairs, and removing the Irish members from the Parliament at Westminster, the other a Land Purchase Bill—for advancing a sum of about £50,000,000 to help Irish tenants to purchase their lands. These proposals created intense excitement in the country and grave dissensions in the cabinet. Several of Mr Gladstone's leading colleagues seceded, and they were followed by a strong body of Liberal members. Thus when the second reading of the Home Rule Bill came on, the government were beaten by a majority of thirty.

Mr Gladstone at once appealed to the country, and the

general election showed a strong feeling against Home Rule. The Conservatives (316 in number), combined with 76 Liberal Unionists—as the Liberals opposed to Home Rule were called—had a large majority over the 192 Liberals who still followed Mr Gladstone, and the 86 followers of Mr Parnell. Mr Gladstone therefore resigned, and Lord Salisbury, at the head of a purely Conservative government, took office. The Liberal Unionists promised their support, but did not enter the ministry.

Lord Salisbury remained for six years at the head of affairs. During the earlier part of this period the difficulty of governing Ireland, even with the special powers given by a new Coercion Act (1887), was very great. The Land League adopted a new method, called the "Plan of Campaign," under which, on any estate marked out for action, the rents were handed over to agents of the League instead of to the landlord. This led, of course, to evictions, and the evictions to murder and other outrages.

The tenants had, doubtless, in times past suffered grievous wrongs, and cases of hardship still probably occurred, but it is difficult to defend such methods as those of the Plan of Campaign after the Act of 1881 had supplied a remedy. The first business of a government is to maintain the law, and Mr Balfour, as Irish Secretary, discharged this task with remarkable coolness and determination. He was supported by the judges, who declared the Plan of Campaign to be illegal, and by the Pope, who in 1888 issued a letter, condemning both the system of "boycotting" and the Plan of Campaign.

Until 1890 Mr Parnell remained undisputed head of the Home Rule movement. A special commission, consisting of three judges, had been appointed in 1888 to examine the working of the League, and to decide whether its leaders were to blame for the outrages which had occurred. After an exhaustive inquiry, which lasted two years, the commission published a report which was hailed by some as an acquittal, by others as a verdict of guilty.

In the same year (1890) Mr Parnell's implication in a

divorce case caused a split in the Irish party. The majority of the Irish members, acting on a published letter of Mr Gladstone's, revolted from Mr Parnell's leadership. A violent contest ensued between the two factions, in the course of which Mr Parnell died (1891). A severer blow could hardly have fallen on the Home Rule cause.

The most important domestic measure of Lord Salisbury's government was the Local Government Act (1888). This Act established new elective bodies, called County Councils, in London and the counties, with large local powers. It, in fact, gave to London and the counties rights of self-government like those conferred on the larger boroughs by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835.

In the department of foreign affairs few events of importance took place during Lord Salisbury's administration. France, which about this time began to draw closer to Russia, continued to protest against our occupation of Egypt—which no British Government has yet regarded as more than temporary. The French Government confined itself, however, to depreciating and obstructing in every possible way our development of the country. Their hostility had no result except to produce a closer understanding between Great Britain and Italy, which ripened into something like an alliance in 1887.

A war with Burma had been forced upon us by the action of the half-insane Burmese king, Theebaw, before Mr Gladstone's resignation in 1885. It was successful, and led to the annexation of Upper Burma early in 1886. In 1887 Quetta, a strong place on the north-west frontier of India, was annexed, and about the same time East Zululand was added to Natal. But far the most important achievement outside Europe during this period was the series of conventions with Germany, France, Italy, and Portugal respecting Africa, which Lord Salisbury completed in 1890 and 1891. By this the unoccupied regions of Africa were divided into "spheres of influence," allotted to the different powers—a peaceful settlement of disputed claims which, if unsettled, might at any time have given rise to war.

In 1892 the Parliament of 1886 came to a natural end. A list of required reforms, drawn up in 1891 by the National Liberal Federation, and called the "Newcastle Programme," was put forward as the manifesto of the Liberal party. In the forefront stood Home Rule, but so many other changes were declared necessary that the general election, unlike that of 1886, was fought out on a divided issue. The result gave Mr Gladstone, with the aid of 81 Home Rulers, a majority of 40 over the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists combined. Soon afterwards Mr Gladstone became Prime Minister for the fourth time. He was then nearly eighty-three years of age.

In 1893 he introduced his second Home Rule Bill. It differed from the first principally in this, that the Irish members were to have seats at Westminster as well as in Dublin, thus having control over English and Scottish affairs as well as over their own. The Bill, after a long discussion, passed the Commons by a majority of only 34. It was rejected by the House of Lords by a majority of ten to one. Next year the government brought in and passed the Local Government Act (1894), a measure which completed the Act of 1888 by permitting the establishment, in parishes or groups of parishes, of elective bodies with restricted control over sanitation and other local affairs.

This was Mr Gladstone's last important measure. Age and infirmities of sight and hearing compelled his retirement, and Lord Rosebery, previously Foreign Secretary, became Prime Minister in his stead. Under his leadership two other Bills were introduced—one to determine the liability of employers for accidents happening to those whom they employ, the other to replace in their holdings Irish tenants evicted for refusal to pay their rent. The former of these was withdrawn, owing to alterations made in it by the Lords, the latter was rejected by the Upper House.

These events led to a campaign against the House of Lords, headed by Lord Rosebery, but he and his followers were divided on the question whether the Upper House should be amended or abolished altogether. Meanwhile little was

heard of Home Rule, and the Irish party was still further weakened by personal dissensions, which caused a second schism in its ranks. In the department of foreign affairs the Liberal government had no heavy tasks to perform. A dispute with France about Siam was happily compromised (1893), but Lord Rosebery's attempt to intervene in the quarrel between China and Japan (1895) met with a decided rebuff.

During the session of 1895 the government carried the second reading of a Bill for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, but soon afterwards it was beaten on a question of slight importance, and Lord Rosebery at once resigned. Lord Salisbury again became Prime Minister, and this time the leading Liberal Unionists joined the ministry. In the general election which followed the Radical and Home Rule party met with a crushing reverse. The Parliament elected in 1895 showed a majority of over 150 for the Conservative and Unionist side—a larger difference than had been seen since the election of 1832.

The adoption of a Home Rule policy had thus, it appeared, broken up and weakened the Liberal party, but, on the other hand, the Conservatives were leavened by their junction with their Liberal allies. This union continued intact till it was loosened, and in some cases broken, by the question of Tariff Reform, raised by Mr. Chamberlain in 1903.

60. The Last Years of Queen Victoria.

WHEN Lord Salisbury returned to office in the summer of 1895 the world in general was tranquil, and there seemed little prospect of serious disturbance in any quarter. Armenia, it is true, was still unquiet, but the Turkish Empire is seldom free from trouble. There was discontent among the foreign settlers in the far-off Transvaal, and an insurrection

against the Spanish Government was beginning in Cuba, but few persons then perceived what storms were foreshadowed by these little clouds. The last five years of the nineteenth century proved, indeed, to be one of its most disturbed periods, and the British Empire in particular had to pass through some severe trials.

Before we attempt to relate the events of this troubled time, let us consider for a moment some of the more important changes which had recently passed over the world beyond our own shores. Every one who knows anything of recent British history will be aware how different was the internal condition of Great Britain in 1895 from its condition, let us say, at the opening of Queen Victoria's reign. But the changes which had taken place in most Continental states, and in several countries outside Europe, were at least as great as those which had taken place in our country. These external changes have gravely affected our position in the world, and our relations with foreign powers.

In the first place, our greater colonies, which at the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign were still weak and dependent on the mother country, have expanded into large, prosperous, and self-governing states, able and willing—as they have recently shown—to help Great Britain in time of need.

On the other hand, our example as a colonizing power has been followed by most of the European states, especially France and Germany, which have manifested great eagerness to build up colonial empires. Since 1871 the cessation of political revolutions and great wars on the Continent has enabled these states to devote their attention to internal development, and Germany in particular has made rapid progress in trade and manufactures.

In these countries colonial expansion and commercial enterprise have gone hand in hand, and the consequence is that British merchants now meet with keen and clever rivals in many parts of the world where they met with none before.

The United States, already one of the strongest powers in the world, and rapidly growing in population and resources,

has lately shown a determination to make its influence felt in foreign affairs, from which it used formerly to shrink. America has started in the race for colonial possessions, and American manufactures compete with ours all over the world.

Again, the vast expansion of the Russian Empire has begun to affect British interests in more than one direction. The Russian frontier in central Asia is now close to that of our greatest dependency, India, from which it was separated, a generation ago, by many hundreds of miles. In northern Asia, Russia seemed likely to absorb large portions of the Chinese Empire, and up to the time of the war with Japan (1904-5) her influence in Manchuria was supreme. While the result of that war was to secure the political integrity of China, it secured for Japan a commanding position in northern China.

Germany has also acquired a footing in central China, and France in southern China, and though our trade with the Chinese still exceeds that of all other nations, these states, together with the United States of America, have entered into active commercial rivalry with Great Britain. Lastly, the ancient empire of Japan has suddenly transformed itself, and, by adopting Western ideas, science, and machinery, has become a great and energetic state, the chief naval power of the Far East, and a serious competitor in commerce for Great Britain, while a firm ally in political affairs.

61. Domestic Reforms.

IT is owing to these great changes abroad that colonial affairs, which appeared to be of little interest to our grandfathers, seem to us to be so important. What are called "imperial" questions—that is, questions touching not only Great Britain and Ireland, but the British Empire at large—are now discussed with almost as much eagerness as the abolition of the Corn Laws and the extension of the franchise were

in the last century. Though popular attention was diverted largely to imperial questions, some important domestic reforms were introduced under the governments of Lord Salisbury, and it will be well to review these before we pass on to consider foreign and colonial affairs.

Ireland, previously so disturbed, remained, on the whole, tranquil, and made some material progress, especially in agriculture. Mr Gladstone's Land Act settled rents for fifteen years. This period elapsed in 1896, and a new Land Law was therefore passed, which continued and extended the provisions of the former Act, mainly in favour of the tenants.

Two years later the Irish Local Government Act extended to Ireland the privilege of local self-government by means of County and District Councils, similar to those established in England by the Act of 1888. In 1899 a new department of government was created in Ireland, endowed with wide powers and a large grant of money, for the encouragement of agriculture and the improvement of technical instruction.

This "Board of Agriculture" has already produced excellent results, by teaching new and better methods of farming, and inducing the farmers to co-operate for agricultural purposes. Nevertheless, the animosity of the Irish members of Parliament towards the English Government, and their determination to be content with nothing short of Home Rule, appear to be unabated.

Few Acts of great importance affecting Great Britain, as apart from Ireland, were passed by the Parliament of 1895-1900. Perhaps the chief of these was the London Local Government Act (1899), which abolished the old "Vestries" that had previously managed the local affairs of the metropolis. It divided London (outside the "City") into sixteen large districts or "boroughs," and established in each of these a municipal council, with a mayor and aldermen. The London County Council, created in 1888, was left to manage, as before, the affairs of London as a whole.

Other important Acts were mainly concerned with social or

economical matters, and with education. The Employers' Liability Act (1897) secured to almost all classes of workmen compensation in case of accident, and its provisions were extended in 1900 to agricultural labourers. In the same year (1900) fresh powers were conferred on local authorities for the improvement of the dwellings of the working classes.

Other Acts gave pecuniary assistance to the Voluntary schools and the poorer Board schools (1897), while a new university for London was established by an Act of 1898. Universities were also set up in Birmingham and in Wales. The Government, however, failed to grapple with the great question of education as a whole, and a Bill dealing with elementary and secondary education, which was introduced in 1896, met with so much criticism that it was withdrawn.

By far the most important statute which was passed by the Parliament of 1895 was one which does not directly concern this country at all. The federation of the six colonies of Australia was sanctioned by Act of Parliament in 1900, and thus a great new state, comparable with the Dominion of Canada, was called into existence. Two years before this (1898) uniform penny postage had been extended throughout the British Empire, and thus another link was added to the chain which unites the mother country to her children over-sea.

In spite of foreign competition and of disastrous strikes, such as those of the engineers (1897) and the coal miners (1898), the country has enjoyed during this period great commercial and industrial prosperity. The national revenue increased from about £95,000,000 in 1895 to nearly £120,000,000 in 1900, and this growth was only partially due to fresh taxation.

On the other hand, the national expenditure has kept pace with income. The cost of the army and navy, which came to about £35,000,000 in 1895, amounted to over £47,000,000 in 1900, without counting the enormous expenses of the Transvaal War. It is clear that if, in the future, we are to be able to bear these great and increasing burdens, our industry and

commerce—the chief sources of our wealth—must not be allowed to decay

In order to maintain these in a state of prosperity against the rivalry of foreign nations, we shall have need of all our energy and perseverance, and our people must be better educated than they are at present. A great improvement in technical training and in the teaching of science and foreign languages is one of the first national requirements of the day.

62. Foreign Affairs.

PASSING to foreign affairs, we observe that the peace of Europe was undisturbed during this period, except by troubles in the Turkish Empire. These troubles led, however, to a quarrel between Turkey and Greece, and threatened at one time to bring on a general European war.

Lord Salisbury, on coming into office, resolved, like his predecessor, that Britain could not safely interfere, single-handed, to save the Armenians from Turkish barbarities. He tried, however, to persuade the other powers to support him in urging the Turks to mend their ways, and he so far succeeded that in October 1895 the Sultan consented to a scheme of reform. These promises were, however, of no effect, and more massacres of Armenians occurred, both in Asia Minor and in Constantinople.

In 1896 the insurrection in Crete was renewed, and terrible atrocities were committed on both sides. Next year the Greeks sent troops to Crete to aid their compatriots, upon which the powers interfered in order to settle the dispute.

The Greek Government rejected their terms and attacked Turkey, but in the war that followed the Turks were completely victorious. The powers again intervened, made peace between Turkey and Greece (November 1897), and eventually declared Crete "autonomous"—that is, a self governing state under the nominal sovereignty of the Sultan (1898).

While Lord Salisbury was engaged in the endeavour to settle the Eastern Question, Great Britain was suddenly confronted with a threat of war from an unexpected quarter—namely, the United States. For many years there had been difficulties with the Republic of Venezuela about the frontier between that state and British Guiana. Few persons in this country were aware that such a dispute existed, but the people of the United States became excited with the notion that Great Britain was oppressing Venezuela, and the American Government demanded that Great Britain should submit the question to arbitration.

Lord Salisbury denied the right of the United States to interfere, whereupon President Cleveland announced that the American Government would appoint a commission of its own to decide the boundary question, and would, if necessary, force its decision upon Great Britain (December 1895).

This threat seemed at one time very likely to lead to war, but fortunately a spirit of compromise inspired both parties, and the danger was averted by the appointment (in February 1897) of a joint court of arbitration, subject to conditions which secured the most important interests of our colonists in British Guiana. This court, which sat in Paris, gave its decision, in October 1899, in favour of a boundary nearly corresponding with that which the British Government had previously demanded.

A general treaty of arbitration, for settling all disputes between the two nations, was agreed on by the British and American Governments in January 1897, but was rejected by the American Senate. This was unfortunate, for, had the treaty been accepted, several difficult questions still outstanding between the two countries might have been settled.

Nevertheless, a good understanding with America took the place of the former ill-feeling, and the friendship between the two great divisions of the English-speaking race was strengthened by our attitude during the war between Spain and the United States, which broke out in 1898, over the question of Cuba. That America was able to bring the war to

a successful conclusion is believed to have been largely due to the fact that Lord Salisbury let it be known that, if other European states joined Spain, Great Britain would throw her weight into the opposite scale.

To complete the history of our American relations, it should be added that in November 1899 Lord Salisbury came to an agreement with Germany and the United States, by which we ceded to those powers, almost without compensation, the rights which we possessed in the Samoan Islands. Germany acquired Upolu, with the fine harbour of Apia, and Savaii, while Tutuila and all the other islands east of 171° E long were reserved to the United States.

In August 1898, while events in China were causing no little anxiety lest war should result, the Czar of Russia suddenly issued proposals for a general disarmament, or at least a large reduction of European armies. The action of Russia at the time did not inspire a belief that this proposal was seriously meant, nor did it seem that such a step, however desirable, was practicable. Nevertheless, in 1899 a Peace Congress, to which all the great powers sent delegates, met at the Hague. No progress was made towards general disarmament, but it was agreed to establish there an International Court of Arbitration. A second Congress, in 1907, discussed many points which had become prominent during the Russo-Japanese War, but the original question of armaments was brought no nearer a solution.



63. The Far East.

THE great empire of India in this period passed through serious troubles. Large districts of the country suffered (in 1897 and 1900) from the failure of crops, which caused terrible famines, affecting more or less eighty five millions of people. The plague also caused great loss of life, especially in the Presidency of Bombay. The Indian Government took

active measures to mitigate both these evils. The distress caused by famine was greatly diminished by relief works and the distribution of food, but the plague, though more or less kept within bounds, has hitherto resisted all attempts to eradicate it.

One of the first questions which Lord Salisbury's government had to settle was whether we should retain or give up our hold on a small mountain state on the borders of Afghanistan, called Chitral, which had been temporarily occupied on account of some disturbances on the frontier early in 1895. It was decided not to withdraw, but, on the contrary, to make a road from Peshawar, our chief outpost in those parts, to Chitral.

This decision appears to have irritated the wild tribes on the north-west frontier. Early in 1897 they rose one after the other, attacked our forts, and seized the Khyber Pass, the chief road from India to Afghanistan. Several expeditions had to be made, the chief of which invaded Tirah, the home of the Afridis, a very wild and mountainous country, never before penetrated by Europeans. There was severe fighting, with much loss of life, but in the end the tribes submitted, peace was made (1898), and our authority over the Khyber Pass and its neighbourhood was restored.

Still farther east, in the huge and ancient empire of China, great changes, of much importance to this country, were taking place. When peace was made between China and Japan, in April 1895, Russia, France, and Germany combined to force Japan to give up her hold upon the Liaotung peninsula, which she had occupied, and especially upon Port Arthur, the best harbour in that part of the world. This harbour was coveted by Russia as a terminus for her Siberian railway and a stronghold for her fleet, and a secret convention was arranged between Russia and China with this end in view.

The European powers, including Great Britain, now demanded and obtained from China various "concessions" or permissions to build railways, to sink mines, etc., on Chinese territory. The rivalry between the powers and the weakness of China induced Germany, late in 1897, on the pretext of

compensation for the murder of two German missionaries, to seize the harbour of Kiau-Chau, in the Shantung peninsula. Early in 1898 the Russians took possession of Port Arthur, which they soon transformed into a great naval station, and which they held until its capture by the Japanese in 1904.

As some compensation for these acquisitions by other countries, China allowed Great Britain to take possession of Wei-hai-wei, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Pechili, and of an important piece of land opposite the island of Hong-Kong. But a large loan which the British Government was about to make to China was refused by the Chinese Government, acting under Russian influence.

These events led to a sort of revolution at the Chinese court. The Emperor, who was anxious to introduce reforms, was practically deposed by the Empress-Dowager, and the leaders of the reform party were executed or banished. Meanwhile the dislike of foreigners, always prevalent in China, ripened into a deadly hatred, and patriotic societies, the chief of which was known as that of the "Boxers," were organized with a view to driving all foreigners out of the country. These societies were secretly encouraged by the Empress-Dowager, and in the spring of 1900 their members began to murder foreign missionaries and native Christians in the provinces near Peking.

Presently the Boxers began to close in upon the capital, and a few troops were sent to Peking to protect the Legations (that is, the residences of the foreign ambassadors) against an outbreak of the mob. But the Chinese regular army now made common cause with the Boxers, and a force under Admiral Seymour which tried to reach Peking early in June was driven back.

Terrible massacres of native Christians now took place in Peking, the German ambassador was treacherously murdered, and the Chinese forces, commanded by princes of the royal family, laid siege to the Legations. For nearly two months the little garrison, under command of the British ambassador, Sir Claude Macdonald, held out against overwhelming odds,

until a large force of European and Japanese troops fought its way up from the coast and rescued the besieged (August 1900)

The Chinese army was now completely broken up, and all resistance came to an end, but the Empress-Dowager and her friends fled into the interior of the country, where they could not be reached. Throughout the winter of 1900-1901 the allied forces remained in possession of Peking and the surrounding country, while the Russians seized their opportunity, and occupied the greater part of Manchuria.

At length, after tedious negotiations, the Chinese Government came to terms. Some of the leaders who were most guilty of the attack on the Legations were executed, others were banished, and the Chinese agreed to pay a large indemnity. Peace was thus restored, but these events, combined with the results of the Russo-Japanese war (1904-5), caused much ferment in the country, and led to the beginnings of constitutional reform.

64. Britain in Africa.

WE must now pass from Asia to Africa, which in these years witnessed events of yet greater interest and importance than those which we have reviewed elsewhere. Both in eastern and in western Africa, on the Nile and on the Niger our claims came into collision with those of France, and these disputes at one moment threatened to lead to war.

The first difficulty with which Lord Salisbury's government had to deal was that on the Gold Coast, where the Ashantis, under King Premeh, had for some time committed raids and other acts of violence insulting to our authority and injurious to our interests in that district. As the king paid no attention to our remonstrances, late in 1895 an expedition was sent up from the coast to Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti king-

dom. The king submitted, and was brought down to the coast. His people made no resistance, and the country was placed under British control (1896).

Shortly afterwards a British protectorate was declared over the hinterland of Sierra Leone. This country was inhabited by savage tribes who lived by slave-raiding. Our interference with this practice, and the attempt to raise a small tax, led to a rising among these tribes, which was, however, easily suppressed.

About the same time (1897) more serious fighting took place in the Niger valley. The massacre of a peaceful mission by the troops of the king of Benin led to the destruction of his power and the abolition of one of the most barbarous governments of Africa. Farther up the river the forces of the Niger Company, under Sir George Goldie, routed a large army of the Fulahs, and put an end to another slave-raiding tyranny, which had its chief seat at Bida.

Meanwhile, French explorers, accompanied by small bodies of troops, were penetrating central Africa from various directions—from Algeria, Senegal, and Dahomey. They were anxious to extend the colonial possessions of France, and to annex as much as possible of the fruitful Niger valley. It was natural that disputes should arise as to the respective rights and boundaries which had not been determined by the treaties made six or seven years before. The question was a complicated one, but mutual concessions enabled France and Great Britain to come to an understanding (June 1898), by which a large territory on the Lower Niger was secured to Great Britain. The ratification of this treaty, however, was for some time delayed by a still more serious dispute which broke out concerning the upper valley of the Nile.

It will be remembered that in 1882 the joint French and English control over Egypt came to an end, that Egypt became a sort of "protectorate" under Great Britain, and that in 1885 the attempt to reconquer the Sudan—that is, the old dominions of Egypt on the upper Nile—was abandoned.

The Mahdi, and his successor the Khalifa, ruled the Sudan

from their capital, Khartum, in a very tyrannous and barbarous fashion, and from time to time their fanatical followers, the Dervishes, made incursions upon Egyptian territory. Meanwhile Lord Cromer, our representative in Egypt, aided by Mr (now Lord) Milner, was establishing good government at Cairo, and developing the resources of the country, the railway was pushed southwards to Wady Halfa, and Sir Herbert (now Lord) Kitchener drilled the Egyptian troops into a respectable army.

Since Egypt depends for its prosperity, and even for its existence, on the fertilizing Nile, it was evident that, sooner or later, the reconquest of the Sudan must be undertaken. The control of the upper valley could not be left for ever in the hands of a barbarous power, still less could it be handed over to a powerful European state, which would thus have Egypt at its mercy. It was known that France, never ceasing to regret the mistake she made in 1882, was preparing an expedition with the object of planting the French flag on the shores of the Nile between Khartum and the great lakes. This, Lord Rosebery's government had warned her, could not be allowed.

The event which forced the British Government to act was a disastrous defeat which, in March 1896, the Italians—who had formed a colony on the shores of the Red Sea, about Massowah—suffered at the hands of Menelik, King of Abyssinia. It was feared that the Dervishes would be encouraged to attack Egypt, and that Menelik might make common cause with the French, or even with the Khalifa, and thus bar our advance up the Nile, and permanently cut off Egypt from our possessions in Uganda. Accordingly, Mr (now Sir) Rennell Rodd was sent on an embassy to Abyssinia to prevent French intrigues with Menelik.

The Italian outpost at Kassala was taken over by our troops, and in the spring of 1896 a large Egyptian force moved southward from Wady Halfa. In June the Dervishes were soundly beaten at Firket, the Egyptian troops thus proving that, drilled and led by British officers, they might now be pitted

against the warlike Sudanese. The summer months were employed in securing what had been won. In the autumn Sir Herbert Kitchener pushed on, and without much difficulty occupied Dongola.

Next year a further advance was made to Abu Hamed, which place was occupied after a stiff fight (August 1897). The railway was carried rapidly across the desert, and later in the autumn was continued as far as Berber. Here another halt was made, gunboats were brought up the river, and large stores were collected in preparation for the final attack on the Dervish stronghold.

In the spring of 1898 all was ready, and a considerable force of British troops was sent out. On April 8 Sir Herbert Kitchener attacked part of the Khalifa's army in its entrenchments on the river Atbara, and routed it with great slaughter. The way was now clear to Khartum, but the Sudan* was in no hurry, and some months more were occupied in preparations.

Late in August the final advance began, and on September 2 the Anglo Egyptian forces encountered and overthrew the large army of the Khalifa under the walls of Omdurman. The Arabs and Sudanese fought with splendid courage, but modern arms and military skill were all on the side of their opponents, and the Dervish army was almost annihilated. The Sirdar occupied Khartum on the same day, and the Khalifa, accompanied by a few followers, fled into the desert.

While the country was rejoicing over this victory, which restored to Egypt and to civilization a great and fertile province, it heard with no little surprise and annoyance that a small French expedition, under Captain Marchand, had crossed Africa from the west coast and planted itself on the Nile at Fashoda, about 470 miles above Khartum. Lord Salisbury at once gave the French Government to understand that Captain Marchand must withdraw.

France sought to make his withdrawal conditional upon obtaining concessions elsewhere, but Lord Salisbury refused.

* Arabic word meaning "commander."

to discuss the question. Lord Rosebery supported the Prime Minister, and the nation was unanimous on the same side. This quiet firmness had its effect. After two months of anxiety, during which war with France seemed imminent, the French Government gave way, and Captain Marchand retired by way of Abyssinia.

This critical question once settled, and the whole of the upper Nile valley recognized as within the "sphere of British influence," it was not very difficult to come to an understanding on other points. The agreement about Nigeria was ratified in March 1899, and the limits were marked out of the French and British "spheres" in the western Sudan—that is, between the Nile valley and Lake Chad. In the autumn of the same year the Dervish resistance in the Sudan was ended by the death of the Khalifa, and the work of peaceful development was thenceforward carried on without interruption from either internal or external foes.

While these things were happening in Egypt and the Sudan, a hard struggle was being carried on by our officials in Uganda, with very inadequate forces, against several of the native chiefs and some Sudanese troops who had mutinied and killed their officers. These troubles, which began in 1895, were not brought to a close till the end of 1898. Meanwhile a railway was being carried across pestilential deserts and difficult mountains from Mombasa to the Victoria Nyanza. With the completion of this railway, and the establishment of peace, the great natural resources of Uganda should before long make it a prosperous colony.

In western Africa one more conflict, short but sharp, had still to be fought before our possessions on the Gold Coast became secure. In the summer of 1900 the Ashantis, who had offered no resistance in 1896, and therefore considered themselves unbeaten, suddenly revolted, and besieged the British governor in Kumasi with an overwhelming force.

A relief column was speedily organized, under Sir James Willcocks, and in the middle of the rainy season fought its

way up from the coast in time to rescue the garrison (July). The Ashantis were well armed, and fought bravely behind stockades, but they were routed in a series of engagements, though not without severe loss on our side. Order was restored by the end of the summer. One of the most satisfactory features of this brilliantly-managed affair was that the troops on our side consisted entirely of native levies, who, until drilled and led by British officers, had never dared to meet the Ashantis in the field.

65. The Boer War.—I.

WE now come to the story of the unfortunate conflict in South Africa—the most serious struggle that this country has been engaged in since the Indian Mutiny. In order to understand its causes and importance we must go back a few years. The Convention of 1881, which conferred self-government but not independence upon the Transvaal, did not satisfy the Boers. It was modified in February 1884 by another agreement—the “Convention of London”—which, while still prohibiting them from making treaties with foreign powers, encouraged them to think that British “suzerainty” was an empty name.*

During the next few years British influence and colonization made great advances to the north and west of the Transvaal. The republic itself became wealthy, but at the same time disturbed, through the discovery of gold, and there were many disputes between the British Government and that of the Transvaal.

In August 1884 Germany, after giving us fair warning, annexed the whole of Damaraland and Namqualand, a vast but unprofitable territory to the north of the Orange River. About the same time Boer pioneers began to occupy, contrary to the Conventions with Great Britain, the territory west of

* By the Convention the Transvaal was recognized as the “South African Republic,” but, for the sake of brevity, we may still call it the Transvaal.

the Transvaal, called Bechuanaland, while German adventurers were trying to get a footing on the coast of Zululand.

These events made the British Government afraid lest the connection between Cape Colony and the interior should be cut off, and all chance of expansion towards the river Zambesi destroyed. Accordingly, in 1885, Sir Charles Warren was sent out in command of an expedition, and took possession of Bechuanaland. The southern portion was made a crown colony, the northern a protectorate.

This very important act led a little later to a further advance northwards. Several treaties were made with Lobengula, king of the Matabeles, and with other chiefs ruling territories to the north of the Transvaal, and British pioneers, acting with the consent of the government, began to occupy the country.

In 1889 the British South Africa Company—the head of which was Mr Cecil Rhodes—obtained a charter authorizing it to take over the control of a vast district, including Matabeleland and Mashonaland, and reaching from Bechuanaland to the river Zambesi. The Portuguese claimed the eastern part of this territory, and a slight collision between the Portuguese forces and those of the Company actually took place, but in June 1891, Lord Salisbury made a treaty with Portugal, which defined the boundary between British and Portuguese territories.

While this advance was going on, the Boers attempted to seize a portion of Matabeleland north of the Limpopo, but the strong remonstrances of the British Government induced Mr Kruger—who had become, in 1883, President of the Transvaal—to forbid the “trek” expedition which was intended.

These acquisitions were not, however, made without bloodshed. The Matabeles, a very brave tribe akin to the Zulus, finding that their lands were being permanently occupied by the white settlers, took up arms in 1893. Some hard fighting took place, but the resistance of the natives was crushed, their capital, Bulawayo, occupied, and Lobengula driven out. He died in January 1894.

Meanwhile the Boers, though checked on the west and north,

had succeeded in enlarging their possessions on the east. Between 1884 and 1886 they occupied a considerable portion of Zululand, about Vryheid. This "New Republic," as it was called, was recognized by Great Britain in 1886, and absorbed into the Transvaal in 1888. The rest of Zululand was annexed by Great Britain in 1887, and ten years later added to the colony of Natal. Amatongaland, the territory between Zululand and the Portuguese possessions, was annexed in 1895, thus completely severing the Transvaal from the sea. The Boers were, however, allowed, after several preliminary advances, to establish their sovereignty over Swaziland (1891). These extensions of their frontier were contrary to the Conventions of 1881 and 1884.

Meanwhile the Transvaal, which was previously in an almost bankrupt condition, had been enriched by the discovery (about 1881) of large gold fields in a district called the Witwatersrand, or, more briefly, the "Rand," as well as in other parts of the country. The gold-mining industry began to flourish about 1886, and the large and prosperous town of Johannesburg grew up very rapidly. Railways were necessary for the expansion of this industry, and were quickly built. The chief of them connected Johannesburg and Pretoria (the capital of the Transvaal) with Delagoa Bay, Natal, and Cape Town. Another great railway was pushed northward from the Cape through Bechuanaland and Rhodesia* to Bulawayo (1897).

The discovery of gold in the Transvaal was the chief source of all the recent trouble in South Africa. On the one hand, it brought into the Transvaal a large foreign population—called "Outlanders"—to whom the Boers refused all political rights, and whose grievances ultimately compelled us to interfere. On the other hand, the large revenue which the mines poured into the treasury of the Transvaal enabled the Boer Government to buy large quantities of arms and ammunition, and encouraged President Kruger and his advisers to contemplate the extinction of British influence in South Africa.

* The name given to the territory of the South Africa (or Chartered) Company, and derived from its founder, Cecil Rhodes.

The chief grievances of the "Outlanders" were the tyrannical and oppressive nature of the Boer government, the corruptness of the administration, the heavy taxes, and the fraudulent monopolies which checked trade and industry. There were many others, but the worst of all was the refusal of political rights, without which it seemed hopeless to expect any redress.

The Boers, on their side, were naturally reluctant to confer the franchise on the Outlanders, who outnumbered them by at least two to one, and who, if permitted to vote, would have swamped the Dutch settlers at the polling-booths. The petitions of the Outlanders were therefore rejected, but unfortunately the government of the country at the same time grew worse and worse.

At length, in the autumn of 1895, a plot was hatched at Johannesburg for overturning the Boer Government and securing by force the civil and political rights which President Kruger refused. It was arranged, with the connivance of Mr Rhodes, then Prime Minister in Cape Colony, and head of the South Africa Company, that Dr Jameson, one of the Company's officials, with a force of police in the service of the South Africa Company, should be stationed on the western border of the Transvaal to help the insurgents in case of need.

The affair, however, was grossly mismanaged, and Dr Jameson crossed the border (December 29, 1895) before the insurgents in Johannesburg were ready. The result was that Jameson and his men—about 500 in number—were defeated and taken prisoners by the Boers (January 2, 1896). The "reformers" at Johannesburg surrendered, and the whole movement came to a discreditable end.

The Boers gave up Dr Jameson and his men to the British Government to be tried in England. They were condemned to various penalties, which—at all events in the case of the leaders—seemed scarcely adequate to the offence. The leading "reformers" were tried at Pretoria, and punished by imprisonment and heavy fines. A Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry met in England, and severely censured Mr Rhodes and others for their share in the business—but the inquiry

was not so thorough as it might have been, and many persons were dissatisfied with the result

From this time forward the treatment of the Outlanders became more and more oppressive. Laws were passed limiting immigration, and authorizing the arbitrary expulsion of aliens, an attempt was made to damage the prosperity of Johannesburg by closing the "drifts" or fords across the Vaal (1895), the independence of the law courts was undermined, murders of British subjects went unpunished, public meetings were violently broken up

66. The Boer War.—II.

MEANWHILE Sir Alfred (now Lord) Milner, who had been made Governor of the Cape in 1897, had become convinced that our whole position in South Africa was being gravely imperilled by the growth of disaffection, especially in Cape Colony. The Afrikander Bond, a powerful society established about 1882, had long been engaged in spreading the view that South Africa should, and eventually would, belong to the Dutch, and the idea of Dutch supremacy was daily winning adherents.

In 1899 Sir Alfred Milner demanded for the Outlanders a "five years' franchise"—that is, the right to vote after five years' residence in the Transvaal. Early in June he met Mr Kruger at Bloemfontein, but failed to come to an agreement. Long and somewhat angry negotiations were carried on between Mr Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, and President Kruger during the next two or three months. These discussions might have been better managed on our side, but it does not appear probable that any diplomatic skill could have attained the desired result.

Eventually Mr Kruger conceded a nominal five years' franchise, but subject to so many limitations as to make it apparently almost worthless. He demanded, moreover, as the price of his concession, that Great Britain should recognize the

complete independence of the republic, submit all disputes to arbitration, and engage never again to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. Such conditions were, of course, unacceptable.

In reality the conflict was one between the two races, Dutch and British, for political supremacy in South Africa. Mr. Kruger could not grant a genuine franchise without resigning his hope of a Dutch supremacy. For a similar reason, Great Britain could not put up with a sham franchise, or resign her titular suzerainty.

It is needless to dwell upon negotiations which led to no result. In the autumn of 1899 it was perceived that war was probable, if not inevitable. The Boers began to concentrate their forces on the frontier of Natal. British troops were sent from India, and military preparations were made in this country.

At length the Boers, seeing their advantage in our un-readiness for war, sent an "ultimatum" (October 9), demanding the withdrawal of our troops, and the submission of all disputes to arbitration. These terms not being accepted, the war began (October 11). The Orange Free State, by virtue of an alliance made in 1897, joined the Transvaal. We had no quarrel with the Free State, with which for nearly forty years we had been on the best of terms.

The Boers took the offensive, and threw their strength into the invasion of Natal, endeavouring to surround and capture the bulk of our forces at Dundee and Ladysmith. They also laid siege to Mafeking and Kimberley, on the western border of the Transvaal and the Free State, and though they crossed the northern border of Cape Colony, there was for some time little fighting in this district.

The war opened disastrously for Great Britain. Despite occasional successes, no progress could be made, and within one week three serious reverses were suffered—at Stormberg, at Magersfontein, and on the Tugela River. Three British armies, defeated on British soil, had failed in their objects, and were unable to advance a step further without reinforcements,

Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking were closely besieged and no one knew how long they could hold out

The news of our defeats was received with jubilation all over the Continent, and complete failure was generally foretold. But in the midst of these troubles the nation held firm, and from all parts of the Empire, especially from the great self-governing colonies, came assurances of support.

The Government had entirely miscalculated the forces required to overcome the Boers, armed as they were with the best modern weapons, able to move on horseback much faster than our infantry, and holding strong defensive positions in a difficult country. Great efforts, however, were now made. All the available regular troops and militia were sent out, and large forces of yeomanry and volunteers were enrolled. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand sent strong contingents, and excellent irregular troops were supplied by the loyalists in Cape Colony and Natal. On December 23 Lord Roberts left England to take supreme command, and was joined by Lord Kitchener from Egypt as chief of his staff.

On February 9 Lord Roberts, who had spent a month at Cape Town in making the requisite preparations, arrived at Modder River, and the advance into the Free State at once began. Its first result was the relief of Kimberley (February 15). The Boers, under command of General Cronje, withdrew eastward. Lord Roberts pursued, and after a fierce engagement at Paardeberg (February 18), compelled General Cronje to surrender with about 4,000 men (February 27).

Meanwhile General Buller had again advanced, despite two serious checks at Spion Kop and at Vaal Krantz, attacking this time the left (north east) of the enemy's position on the Tugela. The Boers, who, on the news of Lord Roberts's advance, had already begun to withdraw from Ladysmith, gradually gave way, and after a fortnight of incessant fighting Ladysmith was relieved (February 28). The garrison was almost at its last gasp. Had Ladysmith fallen, the result would have resembled that of General Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. Its successful defence saved South Africa for the Empire.

Continuing his march from Paardeberg across the "veld," Lord Roberts entered Bloemfontein on March 13, pushing back the Boers as he advanced. In the capital of the Free State he remained for two months, mastering the country to the southward, and bringing up the necessary supplies for a further movement. This was necessarily a slow business and the Boers, gallantly recovering their spirits after defeat, more than once successfully attacked isolated bodies of our troops.

During Lord Roberts's advance, Presidents Kruger and Steyn had offered to make peace, on the basis of independence for the two republics. After what had happened, the government could not assent to such a condition, and the war therefore went on. A little later a friendly offer of mediation made by the United States was politely declined.

67. Continuation of the Boer War.

—Death of Queen Victoria.

EARLY in May, Lord Roberts set out again for the Transvaal. On May 12 Kroonstad was occupied, and four days later our vanguard crossed the Vaal. On May 18 an expedition sent out from Kimberley relieved Mafeking, after a seven months' siege. On June 5 Lord Roberts entered Pretoria. His route had lain over fairly open country, and though there was frequent fighting, the Boers nowhere offered a determined resistance. About 4,000 British prisoners were found near Pretoria and released. The march from Bloemfontein to Pretoria had been surprisingly rapid, and Lord Roberts was forced to wait for nearly six weeks till sufficient supplies had been brought up to enable him to make a further advance.

In September Mr Kruger left for Europe, in the hope of obtaining foreign intervention—a hope which was fortunately not fulfilled.

At this time the war seemed practically over. All the main lines of railway were in our hands, and the Boer forces were broken up into small bodies. The government thought the moment opportune for dissolving Parliament, which had now lasted five years. They appealed to the country to pass judgment on their conduct of affairs, especially in connection with the Transvaal, and to entrust them with a new mandate for the conclusion of the war and the settlement of South Africa.

There was no little dissatisfaction with Lord Salisbury's ministry on several accounts, but the great majority of electors felt that they could not transfer power to their opponents, many of whom were hostile to the policy which the nation, as a whole, had determined to carry through. Accordingly, the general election of October 1900 ended in a victory for the Unionists almost as decisive as that of 1895, and Lord Salisbury retained his hold of power with the large majority of 134.

But the war was not over, although it had changed its character. As there was no further prospect of great operations, Lord Roberts left South Africa (December 1900), handing over the completion of his task to Lord Kitchener. It proved a very hard one. The vast size of the country—the two republics together being nearly as large as France—the barrenness and ruggedness of large parts of it, the want of communications, the rapidity with which the mounted Boers, aided by the non-combatant population, moved about the country, the hostility of the Dutch in Cape Colony, many of whom rebelled against the government,—all these things made the work of subduing a brave, obstinate, and wily enemy very slow, laborious, and costly.

To the regret of all her loyal subjects, the great sovereign who for sixty-four years had ruled the British Empire passed away without seeing the pacification which she so ardently desired. The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, celebrated in June 1897, had called forth an even greater display of enthusiasm than the Jubilee of ten years before. Military

contingents from all parts of the Empire marched in procession to St Paul's, and testified to its world-wide extension. The great naval review at Spithead displayed the force by which that Empire is protected from foreign aggression. The intense loyalty to the person of Queen Victoria which burst forth on this memorable occasion was convincing evidence of that unity of feeling, stronger than fleets and armies, by which the Empire is held together.

For upwards of two generations Queen Victoria was the centre of her people's affections, rejoicing with them joys, grieving with their sorrows, sympathizing with their hopes and ambitions. Her great political influence she constantly used in the cause of peace without and harmony within, her political wisdom and experience she placed, with persistent and unselfish devotion, at the service of her country, and she carried out the high conception of a constitutional monarch as it had never been carried out before.

The nineteenth century and her long reign ended nearly together, and with her death, after a brief illness, on January 22, 1901, the Victorian Era, as it will hereafter be styled, came to a close. This is not the place to discuss the character of Queen Victoria, and it is too soon to estimate the importance of her Age. But it may be confidently said that few, if any, epochs of equal length in British history have been so prosperous or so progressive, and that no sovereign has ever been more deeply or more justly loved.

68. The Reign of Edward VII.

1901-1910

I.—THE DOMINIONS OVERSEAS

WHEN Queen Victoria died, her eldest son, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, succeeded to the throne, with the title of Edward the Seventh. At his accession, the South African War (see chap. 67) was still raging. Terms

of peace were discussed in February 1901, but were rejected by the Boer leaders, who would accept nothing short of complete independence.

Botha and Delarey in the Transvaal, De Wet in the Orange River Colony, won victories in several minor engagements, and inflicted severe losses on the British troops. But on the whole, in spite of their gallant and determined resistance, the war went steadily against the Boers. Lines of small forts called "blockhouses," connected by hedges of barbed wire, protected the railways, united the towns in British occupation, and hindered the enemy from ranging freely about the country. Long marches by mounted troops, sweeping through large districts, drove the Boer forces into corners, and led to the capture of many prisoners.

Meanwhile the Boer women and children, who, both on account of the risk of starvation, and because they provided food and information for the enemy, could not be left in the open "veldt," were collected in "concentration camps," along with many men who had surrendered. At first the sanitary conditions of these camps were defective, and outbreaks of disease occurred, which caused a lamentable mortality among the children. The mistakes were rectified with all possible speed, but these unfortunate occurrences, together with the destruction of farms and crops—often rendered necessary by the nature of guerrilla warfare—called forth loud protests from those at home who were opposed to the war.

The great bulk of the nation, however, remained firm in their resolution to carry on the struggle which had been forced upon them, and in the spring of 1902 the prospects of peace began to brighten. The resistance of the Boers was gradually worn down, their provisions and military supplies were exhausted, and their forces reduced. Negotiations for peace began early in April. On May 15 delegates from the two Boer states met at Vereeniging, and after some hesitation agreed to accept the British terms.

The chief of these were that all burghers should surrender and acknowledge Edward the Seventh as their sovereign, that

prisoners should at once be restored, and should lose neither liberty nor property, that a representative form of government should be established as soon as possible, and that Dutch as well as English should be recognized as the official language. A free gift of £3,000,000 was made by Great Britain for purposes of re-settlement, and a loan of unlimited amount was promised. On this basis peace was signed (May 31). Early in the following year Mr Chamberlain visited South Africa, in order to investigate the many problems awaiting solution, and to assure the Dutch of Great Britain's desire to deal justly and generously with them.

The long war, which had cost the Empire nearly 45,000 men, and upwards of £200,000,000, thus came to an end. The prisoners, over 31,000 in number, returned, and the work of resettlement on the deserted and often desolated farms was actively prosecuted. Prosperity gradually revived, but the process of recovery from the effects of the war was slower than had been expected. In order to increase the supply of labour in the gold-mines—the great source of wealth and feeder of industry in the Transvaal—it was resolved to introduce a large number of Chinese labourers, under indentures (pledges to work for a definite time) and conditions which deprived them of some liberty. During the last year of Lord Milner's administration (he was succeeded in 1905 by Lord Selborne as High Commissioner), this scheme was carried out, but met with strenuous opposition from the Liberal party at home, who represented it as slavery.

When, at the close of 1905, a Liberal Government came into office in England, it promptly put an end to this system. At the same time ministers pledged themselves to introduce "responsible" government (that is, self-government on the Canadian or Australian model) in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. This pledge was redeemed a year later and early in 1907 self-government was established in both colonies. This hazardous experiment has, so far, turned out a success. A new spirit, at least among the leaders, had sprung up since the war, both parties had learned to respect

each other, the question of inclusion in the British Empire had been settled once for all, and the generous treatment meted out to the conquered produced a conciliatory effect.

As a result of the first elections held under the new constitution, Boer governments took office in both colonies, while, about the same time, in Cape Colony, the leaders of the "Bond" (the Dutch party) came into power. Meanwhile various causes, especially the difficulties of the railway question, the requirements of common defence, and the need of united action in regard to the natives, had led all parties in South Africa to desire some form of federal union. A convention of delegates from the different provinces met at Durban in October 1908, and continued its deliberations at Cape Town and elsewhere during the winter. In February 1909 the scheme of federation was published.

It established a "unitary" state—that is to say, the central parliament of the new Union exercises supreme power, the local assemblies of each province possessing only such rights as the government of the Union may allow them. Thus a union much closer than the federations of Canada and Australia was formed. The ministry is responsible to Parliament, which consists of two chambers—the upper one partly nominated, partly elected, the other purely elective. The Dutch and English languages are placed on an equal footing. The seat of government is at Pretoria, but the Parliament is to meet at Cape Town.

This constitution, having been accepted with some modifications in detail by the four provinces—the Cape, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State—was submitted to the Imperial Parliament, and became law in July 1909. General Botha took office as the first Prime Minister of the Union.

Among the other "Overseas Dominions," Canada takes the first place, both as the oldest and, during this period, the most progressive. In 1903 the question of the boundary between Canada and the territory of Alaska was submitted to a joint Commission, and decided in favour of the United States. The decision was disappointing to Canada, but appears to have been based on adequate legal grounds.

A rapid development has taken place in the north-western territories, the southern portion of which, between British Columbia and Manitoba, was formed in 1905 into the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. New lines of railway were rapidly pushed across the continent, enormous areas of land were opened up to settlers for cultivation, immigration was wisely encouraged, and large numbers of immigrants, nearly a third of whom came from the United States, have entered the country. The loyalty of Canada to the Empire was nobly displayed in the South African war, in which the Canadian contingent rendered invaluable service. The tariff, the promotion of railways, and, latterly, the share to be taken by Canada in imperial defence, were the chief political questions at issue in the Dominion. Strong resolutions have recently been passed by the Canadian parliament in favour of measures for strengthening the navy.

Newfoundland remains outside the Dominion, and has made comparatively little progress, but it is satisfactory to note that the ancient dispute with France as to the fisheries on its coasts was closed by the Anglo-French agreement of 1904, and that the claims of the United States in the same respect were recently settled by arbitration at the Hague.

In Australia the chief political change was due to the steady advance of the Labour party, which has shown strong socialistic tendencies. There again the tariff was the most prominent question, while the distribution of land and its resumption by the State attracted much attention.

The general prosperity of the Commonwealth, which, as is natural in a mainly pastoral and agricultural country, is largely dependent on the supply of rain, was at a low ebb at the outset of the reign, but, with the cessation of the long drought in 1905, it began to revive. It can hardly attain the proportions to which the nature of the country entitles it without a large influx of population.

Recent Australasian governments have shown a genuine interest in the question of national defence. During the South African war both Australia and New Zealand sent valuable

aid. In both countries compulsory military training for all youths of a certain age has recently been adopted and arrangements have been made for the gradual creation of an Australian squadron, which, in case of war, would be under the orders of the British Admiralty.

II.—INDIA AND OTHER DEPENDENCIES

The great Empire of India witnessed during this period some very important changes. Steps were taken in the direction of self-government, but these were unfortunately accompanied by a growth of political discontent, by plots and outrages, which have given rise to no little anxiety.

As Viceroy (1899–1905), Lord Curzon displayed great energy and activity in administrative reform, in coping with plague and famine, and in the regulation of the frontier. The system of university education, the irrigation of unproductive lands, the railways, and the police, were all examined by authoritative commissions (1902–3). The standard of university teaching was raised, and co-operative banks were established to aid the poorer class of cultivators.

In 1905 the great province of Bengal, containing a population of about 80,000,000, was divided, with a view to better administration, but the “partition of Bengal” gave great umbrage to the Hindu inhabitants, and a violent agitation for its repeal broke out. Riots and outrages took place, but Mr. Morley, on coming into office as Secretary for India (1905), upheld the work of his predecessors in this respect.

The relations between India and Afghanistan continued amicable, in spite of unrest on the north-western frontier, which necessitated two small punitive expeditions in 1908. In 1907 the Amir Habibullah paid a State visit to the Viceroy, and the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, by placing Afghanistan outside the sphere of Russian influence, gave additional security in that quarter.

On the north-eastern frontier, however, there was more trouble, for Russian intrigues in Tibet, followed by the encroachments of the Tibetans on British territory, forced the

Indian Government, in 1903-4, to send an expedition into that almost unknown region. The British force, after overcoming some resistance from the natives and more serious obstacles in the nature of the country, advanced to the capital, Lhasa, where peace was made (September 1904). The Tibetans undertook to enter into no relations with foreign powers, to give certain facilities for commerce, and to pay an indemnity. Thereupon the British troops returned.

In 1905, owing to difficulties with the Commander-in chief (Lord Kitchener), Lord Curzon resigned (1905). Lord Minto took his place. As the unrest in India increased, Mr. Morley took strong measures to suppress disorder, but at the same time announced his intention to grant to natives a larger share in the government. He began by nominating two natives as members of the India Council in London. Two years later (1909) the Indian Councils Act was passed, by which, among other reforms, the legislative councils in the Indian provinces were enlarged, and a popular elective element was added, care being taken that the Mohammedan population should not be swamped in the elections for these bodies by the more numerous Hindus. This approach to parliamentary government was accompanied by the admission of a native member to the Viceroy's Executive Council, the real governing body of the Indian Empire.

Among the other colonies and dependencies of the Empire, the progress made by Egypt and the Sudan under British administration has been most remarkable. The finances of Egypt, which thirty years ago were in utter confusion, have been placed upon a firm and solvent footing. By means of great dams erected across the Nile, the irrigation of the valley, on which its fertility entirely depends, was extended and regulated, and large areas were added to cultivation. The condition of the peasant was improved, and education promoted. This progress was largely due to Lord Cromer (formerly Sir Evelyn Baring), who retired from Egypt in 1907, after having held his onerous and responsible post of adviser to the Khedive and practical ruler of the country for twenty-five years.

In the Sudan the ravages committed by the Mahdi and his successor the Khalifa were repaired, and a college for native students, in memory of General Gordon, was established at Khartum. But our very successes, and the increase of wealth and prosperity, have produced some disagreeable results. Of late years there have appeared in Egypt serious symptoms of political discontent, and outrages and assassinations have taken place, resembling those that have occurred in India, and arising from more or less similar causes.

The only territorial expansion which the Empire received during this period was in West Africa, to the north of Nigeria, where, in 1903, the persistent hostility of the Emir (native ruler) of the Fulah Empire, rendered necessary an expedition against him, which ended in the occupation of the great semi-Arab towns of Kano and Sokoto, and of a large tract of the surrounding territory. On the other hand, in Eastern Africa, an unsuccessful war was waged against the natives of Somaliland, led by a "Mullah" (fanatical priest), and the British forces have now practically withdrawn from the inland parts of that wild and barren country.

Of other events connected with the Empire beyond seas, the most remarkable were those conferences of colonial premiers with the Home Government which were held in 1902 and 1907. These conferences, the third and fourth of the series, undoubtedly contributed to strengthen the sense of common interest and of national unity in the Empire at large.

III.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS (1)

Passing to the subject of foreign policy, we find it a matter of congratulation that the relations of Great Britain with other powers were uniformly friendly throughout the late reign. The hostile feelings of some foreign nations towards this country during the South African War went no further than words, and nothing occurred to break the peace which has prevailed in Europe for the last thirty years.

In 1903 the King paid a visit to President Loubet in Paris, and at about the same time negotiations were opened with

a view to removing the various obstacles which hindered a good understanding between England and France. These negotiations resulted in a general agreement between the two countries, which was signed in April 1904. By this treaty France recognized the position of Great Britain in Egypt, and in return Great Britain acknowledged the predominance of French interests in Morocco. The question of the Newfoundland fisheries was settled, and other outlying disputes in Siam, Madagascar (recently annexed by France), and the New Hebrides, were set at rest.

In February 1902, in view of impending troubles in the Far East, Great Britain took the unusual step of signing a treaty of alliance with an Asiatic power—Japan. The treaty pledged the two States to mutual assistance, under certain conditions, for the defence of their respective interests in the Far East, and the alliance was to last for five years.

The effect of this compact was apparent soon afterwards, when Japan became involved in a dispute with Russia about Korea, over which the Japanese claimed supremacy, and Manchuria, which Russia had practically occupied since 1900. This dispute led, in February 1904, to a great war, which lasted for a year and a half.

The Russians were defeated by sea and land. On January 1, 1905, Port Arthur, the chief Russian stronghold, was captured after a long siege. With it, what was left of the first Russian fleet fell into the hands of the Japanese. On May 27 the second fleet, which, in its voyage from the Baltic in the previous October, had fled, in a sudden panic, into the Hull trawling fleet, was destroyed by the Japanese, under Admiral Togo, in the Straits of Tsushima. This crushing blow brought the war to a close.

Through the mediation of President Roosevelt peace was signed on September 5. By this treaty Russia ceded to Japan Port Arthur and the southern half of the island of Sakhalin. She restored Manchuria to the Chinese Empire, and recognized the predominance of Japanese influence in Korea. Japan thus obtained all, and more than all, at which she had aimed.

Shortly before the conclusion of peace, Great Britain renewed with Japan the treaty of alliance. This treaty, which was signed on August 12, 1905, and is to last for ten years, has for its avowed objects the maintenance of peace in Eastern Asia and India, and of the integrity and independence of the Chinese Empire. If either of the allied powers, in defence of its interests in India or the Far East, becomes involved in war with another State, its ally is to preserve a benevolent neutrality, and if a third power joins in the war against either ally, the other is to come to its assistance.

The Russo-Japanese War, in which, through her earlier alliance (1902) with Japan, Great Britain was vitally interested, had great effects in other quarters. Through the collapse of her fleet and army, accompanied by domestic troubles falling little short of civil war, Russia was greatly weakened. Thus the international relations of European powers were radically affected, and Germany, hitherto held in check by the Dual Alliance (France and Russia), was enabled to assert a sort of hegemony in Europe. Consequently, a new grouping of the powers took place, and France and Russia established a good understanding with Great Britain.

The agreement with France (1904) has already been mentioned.

The Anglo-Russian agreement was signed on August 31, 1907. It was agreed to recognize jointly the independence and integrity of Persia, Afghanistan was declared outside the sphere of Russian influence, in Tibet both parties agreed to abstain from intervention. The arrangement was a compromise, not altogether satisfactory, but it has hitherto worked well.

The Anglo French agreement exposed France to some disagreeable consequences, in which Great Britain could not remain unconcerned. The German Government, which had expressly acquiesced in the agreement when made, took occasion from the Russian defeat to demand a revision of the clauses concerning Morocco. Negotiations followed, and in June 1905, M. Delcassé, the minister who had promoted the understanding with England, was forced by German insistence

to resign. Eventually (November) the French Government consented to submit the question of Morocco, under restrictions, to a conference of the Great Powers.

The conference met at Algeciras in January 1906, and after nearly three months of discussion an agreement was reached (April 7). The active support of Great Britain and Russia enabled France to make good her position in regard to the most important point—the control of the police—which was entrusted to France and Spain, while Germany obtained certain commercial concessions.

IV—FOREIGN AFFAIRS (2), ARMY AND NAVY

Two years later, in the east of Europe, important events occurred. A revolution, long prepared by the party of reform in Turkey, broke out in July 1908. The leaders demanded the revival of the Constitution, which had been granted in 1876 and afterwards suppressed. The Sultan, deserted by his army, was forced to give way, and in December 1908 a Turkish Parliament met at Constantinople.

Meanwhile Bulgaria, which, since the Treaty of Berlin (1878), had been only nominally subject to Turkey, took advantage of these troubles to declare itself independent (October 5), and, two days later, Austria-Hungary formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, which by the same treaty had been placed under its protectorate. The British Government at once protested against this violation of international law, and was supported by France and Russia. A conference was demanded, but Germany, supporting its ally Austria-Hungary, refused its consent.

The Slav populations of Servia and Montenegro, connected by race and feeling with those of Bosnia and Herzegovina, now became increasingly agitated, and looked for aid from the Czar, the head of the Slavonic race. This attitude, combined with the demand for a conference, produced a dangerous situation. The difficulty was solved by Germany, which in March 1909 presented an ultimatum to Russia. That power, unprepared for resistance, gave way and recognized the annexa-

tions The idea of a conference was abandoned, and Servia acquiesced

These events led to a counter-revolution at Constantinople, by which the Sultan momentarily regained power. But the resistance of his troops was speedily suppressed, Abdul Hamid was deposed, and the constitutional party, known as the "Young Turks," have since then held undisputed sway

Little remains to be added concerning British foreign policy in the more distant parts of the world. In 1901 Great Britain made a treaty with the United States, by which she gave up certain claims of little value in Central America in order to facilitate the making of the Panama Canal. The arrangements respecting the boundary between Canada and Alaska have already been mentioned. The efforts which Great Britain has made to conclude a general arbitration treaty with the States were not successful, but the reference of the question of the Newfoundland fisheries to the international tribunal at the Hague removed the last outstanding difference between the two great divisions of the Anglo Saxon race.

In the Congo Free State, under the rule of the King of the Belgians, there have been, for years past, complaints of mismanagement, and even of tyranny and brutality, on the part of Belgian officials. The British Government, considering itself partly responsible for the condition of this vast territory, since, in 1885, it recognized the Belgian occupation, has not ceased to remonstrate against this state of affairs.

In 1907, the British Government took part, with representatives of some fifty other States, in the second Peace Conference at the Hague. The discussions lasted from June to October, but, owing to the divergent views and interests of so many powers, little was achieved. Some advance was made towards the establishment of a General Court of Arbitration, and of an International Police Court. Great Britain, however, refused to sign the convention with regard to the latter until the great naval powers should have agreed on the principles of law to be followed by such a court. Delegates from these powers subsequently met in London, and drew up a code of inter-

national maritime law, but the decision as to whether this code is acceptable by Great Britain is still in suspense

The Boer War brought to light many defects in our military system, particularly in the confused and cumbersome machinery of the War Office, the want of a General Staff, which has been called the "brain of the army," the slowness of mobilization, the inadequate provision for the Intelligence Department, the insufficiency of the Reserve, especially in the matter of officers, the need of doctors and trained nurses for the sick and wounded. These wants concerned primarily the regular army, but the defective organization of the auxiliary forces—the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers—was equally obvious, and the nation slowly awoke to the fact that these forces were utterly inadequate for the defence of Great Britain, should an invasion take place while the regulars were employed elsewhere.

In 1903 the report of the War Commission, appointed after the conclusion of hostilities, exposed the military unreadiness of the country, and a commission of three was appointed to consider the whole question of army reform. It reported in January 1904, and great changes at once took place. A clean sweep was made of old officials and obsolete methods in the War Office, which was reconstructed on the model of the Admiralty. A system of decentralization was introduced, a new post, that of Inspector-general of the Forces, was created, and permanence was given to the Defence Committee of the Cabinet by the establishment of a Secretariat.

In 1907 Mr. Haldane produced and carried through his scheme of army reform. The Territorial Army and Reserve Forces Act of that year converted the Militia into a "special" reserve for the regular army, in addition to the "regular" reserve of time-expired men. It amalgamated the Yeomanry and Volunteers into a new Territorial Force, which was ultimately to attain the number of 300,000 men, and was placed under the local control of county associations, presided over by the Lords Lieutenant. Finally, it provided for the co-ordination of the Regulars and Territorials as a first and second line. This scheme was carried into execution.

The navy has not required any such radical transformation as the army, but changes of great importance in training, in the construction of ships, and in the distribution of fleets, have been made. In 1903 a new scheme of training for officers was adopted, under which all cadets are educated, up to a certain age, in all branches of the service.

In 1904 Lord Selborne, as First Lord of the Admiralty, acting on the advice of Sir John Fisher, carried out a scheme of naval reorganization. Inferior vessels were withdrawn from the fighting fleets, these fleets were concentrated at the chief strategic centres, the ships in reserve were reorganized, and four squadrons of cruisers were established.

In 1906 a great advance was made in naval construction by the appearance of a larger and more powerful battleship, the *Dreadnought*, which has given its name to all later vessels of a similar type. Large cruisers, built and armed on a similar plan, have subsequently appeared, and all other naval powers have in turn adopted these types.

Fresh redistributions of the fleets were made in 1906 and 1907, resulting in the development of a Home Fleet, with a squadron at the Nore as its fully-organized force for immediate action. This entailed a corresponding reduction in the Channel, Atlantic, and Mediterranean fleets. The reorganization, which was principally due to the rapid growth of the German navy, was completed in 1909.

V DOMESTIC HISTORY (1), CONSERVATIVE ADMINISTRATION

The domestic political history of the reign falls into two distinct portions, nearly equally divided by the change of Government at the end of 1905 and the general election of January 1906. During the earlier portion, the Conservative or Unionist party was in power, during the later, the combined Liberals, Radicals, and Nationalists held sway.

During the parliamentary session of 1901 the attention of the country was so fully concentrated on the war in South Africa that comparatively little legislation was attempted. The Factory Laws were consolidated, an Education Bill was

introduced and abandoned, a Factory and Workshops Act, establishing a system of Government inspection, was carried. The census of this year showed that the population of the United Kingdom had risen to about 41,500,000, and that the inhabitants of Scotland were, for the first time, more numerous than those of Ireland.

In July 1902 the serious illness of the King caused a postponement of his coronation, but, to the immense relief of the nation, he speedily recovered, and the coronation took place at Westminster on August 9.

Shortly before this event, the Marquis of Salisbury, who had been Prime Minister, with the exception of a short interval (1892-95) since 1886, retired from office, full of years and honour. He died in 1904. His withdrawal, combined with the resignation of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (afterwards Lord St. Aldwyn), Lord James of Hereford, and others, necessitated certain changes in the ministry. Mr. Arthur Balfour became Prime Minister, and Mr. Ritchie Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The parliamentary session of 1902 was long and arduous. One of the most important measures was an Education Act, which reorganized primary education throughout the country, and did something also towards placing the secondary schools on a satisfactory footing. The schools maintained by the Established Church were to receive aid from the local rates, while at the same time they were, partially at least, brought under popular control.

The Budget of this year was an important measure, for it was framed to meet the enormous expenses of the war, and, among other financial enactments, it departed from free-trade principles by imposing a registration duty of one shilling a quarter on foreign corn. Meanwhile the agitation in Ireland increased in violence, and several Nationalist members of Parliament were prosecuted by the Government for inciting to outrage, and were put into prison.

One of the chief measures of 1903 was an Education Act for London, which, owing to its size and peculiar conditions,

had been omitted from the scope of the Act of 1902. A great change was also made in university education. The university colleges in certain great towns of the north had hitherto been federated together in a body called the Victoria University. The desire of these colleges for independence led to the abolition of that body, and the creation of separate universities at Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and Sheffield (1903-5).

Another measure of 1903 was the Land Purchase Act for Ireland, introduced by Mr. Wyndham, and based upon the resolutions of a conference between representatives of the landlords and the Nationalists, held in Dublin in the previous autumn. This Act provided that a sum of no less than £100,000,000 should be advanced by the Treasury to aid the voluntary sale of estates by landlords to tenants. The loan was to be spread over a term of fifteen years, and a bonus of £15,000,000 was further to be paid to landlords to facilitate sales. After payment of their regular rents, as settled by the Land Commissioners, for about forty years—a period which was calculated as sufficient to reimburse the State for its outlay—the tenants who buy under the Act will become full owners of their holdings. The Budget of 1903 showed a large surplus; the income tax was therefore reduced, and, as a concession to the free traders, the one shilling duty on corn, imposed in 1902, was dropped.

But much the most important event in the domestic history of this year was Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's declaration in favour of tariff reform, made in a speech at Birmingham on May 15, 1903. The principal reasons he gave, in urging the necessity of revising our free-trade policy and levying duties on the import of foreign goods, while admitting colonial goods free, were (1) the desirability of binding the Empire together by economical ties, in addition to those of national sentiment and common defence, and (2) that of providing employment for British workmen, who now saw themselves deprived of it by the free import of foreign manufactures, produced more cheaply under different conditions.

These views attracted immense attention throughout the

country. They were, however, strongly opposed by the Liberal party as a whole, and by a considerable section of Conservatives. In September 1903 Mr. Balfour issued a pamphlet, entitled "Insular Free Trade," in which he argued in favour of "retaliation"—that is, the imposition of customs-duties on imports from countries refusing to abate their own duties in our favour—urging that this would ultimately force other States to adopt a system of free exchange.

This utterance was followed by the resignation of several members of the ministry, notably Mr. Ritchie, Lord George Hamilton, and Lord Balfour of Burleigh. At the same time Mr. Chamberlain resigned—a step entailed by the difference between him and Mr. Balfour regarding the taxation of food. In a subsequent speech at Sheffield (October 1), Mr. Balfour, while refusing his consent to the taxation of food, declared his abandonment of the principle that "no tax should be levied except for revenue purposes." This declaration entailed the withdrawal of the Duke of Devonshire—after Mr. Balfour, the most important member of the Cabinet. Mr. Austen Chamberlain now became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Alfred Lyttelton Colonial Secretary, Mr. Brodrick Secretary for India, and Mr. Arnold Forster Secretary for War.

Mr. Chamberlain, freed from the restrictions of ministerial responsibility, pressed his cause with fresh vigour. His chief opponents were, among the Liberals, Mr. Asquith, among the Unionist free traders, the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Goschen. The Tariff Reform League had been founded in July, in December 1903 a body called the Tariff Reform Commission undertook the duty of examining the whole system of industrial and commercial relations, and of drawing up a "scientific" tariff. The split in the Unionist party did much to weaken its position and that of the ministry.

In 1904 the principal piece of legislation was the Licensing Act, carried in the teeth of violent opposition on the part of the Liberal party as a whole, and of temperance reformers in particular. This measure provided for the gradual suppression of licenses and a diminution in the number of public-

houses, establishing a system of compensation to be given whenever a public-house was suppressed merely on the ground of the superfluity of such houses. The chief objection raised against the Bill was the implied recognition of a sort of property in the license, which, except in cases of misconduct, had hitherto been renewed almost as a matter of course.

In 1905 the ministry and the Parliament were manifestly drawing near their end. The policy of the Government was weak, the attendance of their supporters grew slack, obstruction and disorder were prevalent in the House of Commons.

Some bills of importance were, however, passed. One of these, the Scottish Churches Bill, was necessitated by the quarrel that had broken out in the Free Church. This body had, in 1900, resolved to amalgamate with the United Presbyterians, with the title of the United Free Church, but a small section of the Free Church stood out against the union, and, on the ground that the majority had abandoned their principles, claimed the property of the whole. The Scottish courts rejected this claim, but the House of Lords, on appeal, decided in its favour. Such a solution, though legally defensible, was open to grave objections on other grounds. Parliament intervened, and in 1905 an Act was passed nominating a commission to divide the property of the Free Church between the majority and the minority on an equitable basis.

In view of the prevailing disorganization, Mr Balfour now resigned (December 4). Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman took office as Prime Minister. Mr Asquith became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Grey Foreign Secretary, Mr Haldane Secretary for War, Mr Morley Secretary for India, Lord Elgin Colonial Secretary. These, with Mr Bryce (Ireland), Mr Birrell (Education), Mr Lloyd-George (Board of Trade), and Mr Burns—the first Labour member to enter a Cabinet—at the Local Government Board, made up a strong combination.

Parliament was soon afterwards dissolved, and the general election, which took place in January 1906, resulted in an overwhelming victory for the new Government. The Unionists were reduced from 369 to 157, the Liberals increased from

218 to 379 Then allies, the Nationalists, numbered 83, but the most significant feature in the new Parliament was the presence of a new Labour party numbering 51 members, who were certain to vote, as a rule, with the Liberals Such a majority had not been seen since 1832

VI—DOMESTIC HISTORY (2), LIBERAL ADMINISTRATION

The election of 1906 was fought mainly on the questions of tariff reform *versus* free trade, and those of education, temperance, and Chinese labour in the Transvaal The trade unions were very anxious to obtain legal recognition of certain of their methods which had recently been condemned in the law courts, the Nonconformists felt very sore about the favour shown to the Church in the Education Act of 1902, but the chief causes of the Unionist defeat were the split in the ranks of that party, and the fact that the mass of the people were tired of Conservative government

The first debt which the Government paid was that due to their trade-unionist supporters The Trades Disputes Act reversed the legal decision referred to above, abolished the law of conspiracy so far as it affected trade unions, and exempted those bodies from any action for damages on account of illegal acts done by any of their members The House of Lords, with much misgiving, accepted the Bill

The Irish allies of the Government received attention in the Town Tenants (Ireland) Act, which conferred greater security on urban tenements, and a somewhat similar measure, the Agricultural Holdings Act, ensured compensation for disturbance to rural tenants in England Another Act was passed for giving meals, at the public expense, to indigent school-children The Plural Voting Bill, designed to prevent any one from giving more than one vote in parliamentary elections, was rejected by the House of Lords

But the great fight of the session took place over the Education Bill This large measure aimed at bringing the elementary schools of the country, including those supported by any religious body, under complete public control, and,

while retaining rudimentary religious teaching, insisted that the teachers, in any schools receiving aid from the State, should be appointed without the imposition of any test as to their creed. The Opposition fought hard but vainly to safeguard "denominational" religious teaching. Many alterations were made in detail, but the main principles of the Bill were intact when it went up to the House of Lords.

The chief object of the majority in the Upper House, which discussed the measure in the autumn session, was to secure fair treatment for "denominational" teaching. With this view, the Peers made a number of amendments, which, however, were refused in their entirety by the majority in the House of Commons. An agreement proving impossible, the Bill was dropped, much to the regret of all who wished to see a settlement of this troublesome question.

In the session of 1907 the principal measure was Mr Haldane's Bill for establishing a Territorial Army, which has been explained above. A beneficial Act was passed for facilitating the creation of small rural holdings in England and Wales, by purchase from landowners, through the agency of the County Councils. Another concession was made to Ireland in an Act which provided relief for Irish tenants evicted for non-payment of rent. But a Scottish Agricultural Bill was rejected by the Lords, and a Bill to introduce what was called "Devolution"—a modified form of Home Rule—in Ireland pleased neither party, and was withdrawn.

The attitude of the House of Lords on the Education Bill (1906), and its rejection of the Plural Voting and Scottish Landholders Bills, had aroused much indignation among the supporters of the Government, who loudly demanded the curtailment of its legislative control. Accordingly, on June 24, 1907, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman introduced a resolution which declared that "the power of the House of Lords to alter or reject Bills passed by the House of Commons should be so restricted by law as to secure that, within the limits of a single Parliament, the final decision of the Commons shall prevail." This resolution was accepted by the whole of the

ministerial party in the Lower House, but no further action was taken upon it on that occasion

On April 5, 1908, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, whose health had for some time been bad, retired from office, and three weeks later he died. Mr Asquith became Prime Minister, and Mr Lloyd-George Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr Winston Churchill was advanced to the Board of Trade, Mr M'Kenna to the Admiralty, Lord Crewe became Colonial Secretary in the place of Lord Elgin, and Mr Morley, while retaining the India Office, accepted a peerage.

During the session of 1908 several important Acts of Parliament were passed. One of these, the Old Age Pensions Act, provided a pension of five shillings a week for all persons, with certain exceptions, over the age of seventy, who might be in need of such assistance. This measure, by which the nation undertook an annual outlay originally estimated at £6,500,000, but subsequently found to be about half as much again, was objected to on the ground, among others, that it discouraged thrift, but was accepted by all parties, and has undoubtedly conferred great benefit on many of the deserving poor.

Another Act restricted the hours of employment in coal-mines to eight hours. A third solved the difficult university question in Ireland by establishing two universities—one in Dublin, the other in Belfast. But a Bill to provide State employment for the unemployed was thrown out by the Commons, while the chief measures of the session, the Licensing and Education Bills, failed.

The Licensing Bill aimed at the speedy suppression of one-third of the existing public-houses, but failed, in the view of its opponents, to provide adequate compensation for the license-holders, and for those who had invested money in such property. The opposition, within and without Parliament, was such as to embolden the House of Lords to reject the Bill.

Two distinct attempts were made by the Government to settle the Education question, but, owing to the uncompromising attitude maintained by the extremists of both parties, the first Bill was withdrawn after it had passed a second reading.

in the Commons, while the second, which was based on an agreement regarding religious teaching, arrived at by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr Runciman, who had charge of the Bill, was introduced too late, and finally dropped in view of the opposition threatened by the more violent sections.

During the session Parliament was not infrequently disturbed by the attacks made upon its precincts, and upon individual ministers, by the more ardent supporters of Female Suffrage, who had already in the previous year adopted new methods of securing a hearing for their demands.

The stormy session of 1909 was almost entirely occupied by the struggle over the Budget. Time was, however, found for passing several measures of secondary importance, such as Acts to regulate the planning of towns, and for the development of agricultural districts and rural communications.

An Irish Land Act, developing the Act of 1903, pledging the country to a large additional outlay in furthering the transfer of estates from landowners to tenants, and conferring powers of compulsory purchase on certain authorities in Ireland, was amended in the Upper House, but eventually became law. Acts were also passed for establishing Trade Boards and Labour Exchanges. The former constituted boards empowered to fix the minimum rate of wages in "sweated" industries, the latter set up a machinery by which employers in need of labour and workmen wanting work might be brought in contact, to their mutual advantage.

VII—DOMESTIC HISTORY (3), THE BUDGET OF 1909 AND THE HOUSE OF LORDS

It was the Finance Bill, embodying the Budget for 1909–10, which caused the great storm, and raised grave constitutional issues. This Bill, introduced by Mr Lloyd-George as Chancellor of the Exchequer, went beyond all previous finance bills in several directions.

The annual expenditure, including £58,000,000 for the army and navy, had risen in 1909 to upwards of £154,000,000. A large deficit, due principally to old-age pensions and the

requirements of the navy, was anticipated. In order to meet this, it was proposed to levy various new taxes upon land, to raise the death duties payable on the death of a proprietor, the income tax, and the stamp duties imposed upon transfers of property and other legal contracts, and also to increase the payments for public-house licenses, and the duties on beer and spirits. For the purpose of levying the land taxes, a valuation of land all over the country was to be carried out at the expense of the owners.

These proposals met with violent opposition both in Parliament and outside. In the House of Commons the second reading was passed by a very large majority. Several changes of importance were subsequently made, still, in its essential outlines and its fundamental principles, the Bill, when it went up to the Lords in the autumn, remained the same as before.

The debate in the Lords turned partly on the objections to the Bill in itself, but mainly on the constitutional questions raised—that is to say, whether the Upper House had a right to interfere with the decisions of the Commons respecting finance, whether the insertion of clauses relative to land-valuation and licensing constituted what is technically called “tacking”—that is, the introduction of extraneous matter, over which the Lords have a recognized control, into a Finance Bill, which it was acknowledged the Lords could not amend, and lastly whether, granted that the Lords could not amend a finance bill, they could reject it outright.

After a week's debate the Lords decided, by a majority of 350 to 75, to throw out the Bill (November 30). The House of Commons at once voted, by an almost equally large majority, that this action was “a breach of the Constitution, and a violation of the rights of the Commons”.

The Liberal programme, as expounded by the Prime Minister, was, first and foremost, the abolition of the “absolute veto” of the Lords, next, the settlement of the education and licensing questions on Liberal principles, the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, and Home Rule for Ireland.

The general election (January 1910) was contested on these

lines, but the questions on which the issue mainly turned were those of the Budget and the House of Lords—two points which were, in practice, inseparable. Apart from the Irish Nationalists, who returned in the same strength as before, and from the Labour members—a group which, if somewhat smaller (41) was more compact than in 1906—the country was evenly divided between Liberals and Unionists, the former numbering 275, the latter 273.

When Parliament assembled, Mr Asquith lost no time in proposing three resolutions to reduce the power of the House of Lords. These resolutions were passed in the House of Commons by large majorities. They left the composition of the Upper House unchanged. But in the opinion of many, even among those who were opposed to any curtailment of the powers of that House, its composition was open to serious objection, and ought to be reformed.

In 1908 a scheme of reform had been drawn up by a Committee of the Lords themselves, which recommended that the numbers of the House should be reduced, that the hereditary peers should be represented by a portion of their body elected by themselves, and that a limited number of persons qualified by the holding of certain high offices should be included in the House. In April 1910 Lord Rosebery brought forward in the House of Lords a resolution declaring that the system under which every hereditary peer has a right to sit and vote in that House should be abandoned. This resolution was passed by a very large majority.

Meanwhile, there was much debate in the Liberal camp as to the order of proceeding. The Government wished to take the Budget first, and eventually, by promising drastic measures in case the Lords should ignore or reject the three resolutions, induced the Irish members to agree. On these terms the Budget was introduced. It was substantially the same measure as that of the previous year, and, as the Unionists acquiesced, it passed rapidly through both Houses.

The promised attack on the House of Lords was impending when suddenly the news of the King's serious illness broke.

upon the world. Two days later, on May 6, he died. The mourning of the nation was deep and universal, for Edward the Seventh, by his geniality and unfailing courtesy, by his interest in works of public utility, his industry, tact, political wisdom and skill, had endeared himself to every class and section of his people.

69. The Literature of the Nineteenth Century.

THE condition of English literature at the end of the nineteenth century may not unfitly be compared with its condition towards the close of the eighteenth, and we may find something to console us in the comparison. If we are struck by the dearth of first-rate literary genius apparent in the present day, we may reflect that a hundred years ago the country of Shakespeare and Milton, of Dryden and Pope, was passing through a similar period of literary eclipse. The later years of the eighteenth century, after the death of Dr Johnson in 1784, form a comparatively barren epoch in our literature.

Robert Burns, whose first poems were published in 1786, is the harbinger of a new era, but for some years he stood almost alone. While Burke, Gibbon, and Cowper were passing away, the great writers who were to adorn the first generation of this century were growing up. In the decade between 1769 and 1779 Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Walter Scott, Charles Lamb, Ricardo the economist, and Jane Austen, were born. A later group—Byron, Shelley, Keats, Keble, Hood, Carlyle—were born between 1788 and 1798.

A new outburst of literary energy begins with the publication of the "Lyrical Ballads" by Wordsworth and Coleridge in 1798. The following generation—a strenuous generation whose energies were braced in the death-grapple with Napoleon, and afterwards in the struggle for political reform—saw, almost every year, the production of new works of genius. Poetry and romance formed the chief output of this wonderful age, but philosophy and political economy, history and criticism, took their share.

Scott's poems were published early in the century. After editing the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border" (1802), he issued, in rapid succession, "The Lay of the Last Minstrel,"

“Marmion,” “The Lady of the Lake,” and several other volumes, which, if not poetry of the first rank, were full of romance and imagination. But his greatest work is to be found in the wonderful series of novels which began with “Waverley” in 1814, and only ended with his death in 1832. These stories, instinct with action, humour, and character, enshrined for ever the picturesque past, and exercised an influence on later writers which is stronger now than it was thirty years ago.

It is the spirit of fancy and romance, combined with rare felicity of expression and a vivid sense of the supernatural, which animates the greater poems of Coleridge, such as the “Rime of the Ancient Mariner,” first published in 1798, and “Christabel” (1816). Lord Byron strikes a different note—the romance is there, but it is animated by the spirit of revolt, the hatred of all constraint—whether legal or moral—engendered by the French Revolution. His literary activity was enormous, and between 1812 and his death in 1824 poem after poem—such as “Childe Harold,” “Don Juan,” “The Prisoner of Chillon,” and “Manfred”—made his poetical fluency, his brilliant wit, and his rebellious opinions known throughout the length and breadth of Europe.

Shelley, whose views were even more anarchical than those of Byron, and who, with less common sense, displays a loftier and more spiritual vein than his great contemporary, published his melodious poems—“Alastor,” “The Revolt of Islam,” “Adonais,” “The Cloud,” “The Skylark,” and many others—between 1816 and 1823. The work of Keats, whose “Endymion” and “Hyperion” display the voluptuous love of beauty with which the literature of Greece inspired him, but not the classical restraint of his ancient models, falls within the short space of four years—1817 to 1821.

The industry of Southey, who in his long life (1774–1843) published a vast mass of work, was unfortunately not equalled by his poetical faculty. Though he was Poet-Laureate during the last thirty years of his life, his poems, such as “Thalaba” and “The Curse of Kehama,” are almost forgotten now.

Wordsworth, who was four years older than Southey, succeeded him as Laureate, and left material of more permanent fame. In his longer poems, such as "The Prelude" and "The Excursion," much observation, much reflection, and some magnificent lines are encumbered by a mass of verbiage, but among his sonnets and shorter pieces are to be found many gems of tenderness or of noble inspiration—such as "Poor Susan" and "Tintern Abbey"—which the world will not let die.

A crowd of minor poets—Campbell, Chabbe, Hogg (the "Ettrick Shepherd"), Moore, Montgomery—are dimmed by the light of these greater ones, but often reach considerable excellence. An almost unique position was attained by Keble, whose "Christian Year," published in 1827, combines poetry and religion as no poet since George Herbert has combined them.

Meanwhile, during the early decades of the century, Miss Austen was publishing her delicate studies of English provincial life, full of gentle humour and subtle insight, and Miss Edgeworth was making the world acquainted with the good and bad qualities—the wit and gaiety, as well as the indolence and recklessness—of the Irish nature. Bentham was founding a new philosophy, to be developed in later days by J. S. Mill, Ricardo was building on the foundation laid by Adam Smith, and Malthus, with his researches into population, was paving the way for Darwin. The criticisms of Hazlitt, the "Imaginary Conversations" of Landor, the weird invention of Poe, the brilliant essays of De Quincey, the mingled humour and pathos of Charles Lamb and Thomas Hood, all added lustre to this great age.

Nor was the generation that followed much inferior. Wordsworth's best work was done, but he lived till 1850, when Tennyson succeeded him as Laureate. Tennyson, who on his romantic side, draws from the fount unsealed by Scott, but who, in his exquisite sense of form and of the charm of words, is exceeded by no other English poet save Milton, Tennyson, who combines patriotism with philosophy, modern

science with the belief in a future life, and yet remains a poet throughout. His early poems, published in 1830-32, were influenced by Keats and other poets, but the "Morte d'Arthur" and "Ulysses," published in 1842, are all his own. Equally original are "The Princess" (1847) and "In Memoriam" (1850), the one gay and playful, the other sad with a noble and philosophic resignation. These were followed by "Maud" (1855), a lyric drama of passion, and by "The Idylls of the King" (1859), in which the old legends of King Arthur and his knights are revived in the light of modern thought and morality. Many other volumes succeeded, but these did not surpass his earlier flights.

Robert Browning, a little younger than Tennyson, is a poet of a very different type, often rugged, even to contempt of form, but of a greater dramatic power and a deeper and richer insight into human character. His most philosophical works, such as "Paracelsus" (1835) and "Sordello" (1840), were succeeded by vivid portraits, such as "Men and Women" (1855), by rapid glimpses of life and action, half lyric, half drama, such as "Dramatis Personæ" (1864), and by many other poems, showing the intense interest in every type of humanity which was the chief mark of his vigorous and fertile mind.

His wife, Mrs. Barrett Browning, in her "Sonnets from the Portuguese," the "Cry of the Children," and other poems, displays a depth of feeling and of human sympathy which few women have surpassed. Nor must we omit the writings of Arthur Hugh Clough and Matthew Arnold, both of whom combine genuine poetical emotion and literary finish with the sense of unrest, doubt, and anxiety that agitated the inquiring minds of their day. Sir Henry Taylor, in his play, "Philip van Artevelde," and other works, shows a more masculine if less sensitive type of mind.

While these great writers were at their best, a school of novelists was depicting, each in his or her own way, every phase of English life. Thackeray, with his playful satire, Dickens, with his humorous pictures drawn from the humbler

ranks of society and his vivid sense of social wrongs, Charlotte Bronte, with her insight into women's hearts, Miss Evans ("George Eliot"), with her wit and moral purpose, Bulwer, Marryat, Disraeli, Lever, Charles Kingsley, and many others, make this perhaps the greatest epoch of the English novel. At the same time Hallam, Macaulay, Palgrave, and Kinglake were doing for British history what Arnold, Thirlwall, and Grote did for the history of Greece and Rome, while Herschell, Owen, Lyell, and Faraday explored the secrets of earth and sky, and Mill was working out the principles of the "utilitarian" philosophy and of economic science.

In a long series of works, such as "Sartor Resartus," the "French Revolution," "Hero Worship," and "The Life of Frederick the Great," Carlyle preached, with all the strength of his fervid, if sometimes perverse and one-sided, genius, the necessity of strong convictions, high ideals, and the hatred of all kinds of sham. During the same time, his friend and admirer Ruskin, in his "Modern Painters," "Stones of Venice," and other works, set forth the beauty, the interest, and the elevating influence of noble painting and architecture. In acute and sympathetic criticism no British author of this century has surpassed Matthew Arnold, in nervous and polished prose none has excelled John Henry Newman. In the world of knowledge the most notable book of this period was undoubtedly Darwin's "Origin of Species," published in 1859, which not only made a revolution in the science of biology, but has exercised a far-reaching influence on almost every side of human thought.

About the year 1870 a new school of poets arose, in Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Swinburne, and William Morris, who turned their backs on philosophy and the deeper problems of humanity, and sought refuge from the weary turmoil of actual life in art, emotion, or the simple legends of a primitive world. But these writers, inspired as they sometimes are, do not rival the giants of the preceding generations, and it is too early to say whether they have left no successors equal to themselves. The race of great critics and essayists is also past. On the

other hand, the greater historians of our generation—Freeman, Froude, Stubbs, Gardiner, Seeley, Lecky—if not equal to the best of their predecessors in literary style, surpass them, as a rule, in accuracy of information and soundness of historical criticism.

With these remarks we may bring our survey of British History to a close. We leave Great Britain at peace with her neighbours, her commerce prospering, her colonies undisturbed. The long story of our national life, of the establishment of our liberties, and of the foundation and growth of our mighty empire, has been traced from its beginning to the opening of the twentieth century. It will be the privilege and the duty of those for whom this little book is written to continue the work of progress, and to hand on those liberties undiminished, that empire unimpeded, to those who come after them.

APPENDIX

IMPORTANT DATES IN BRITISH HISTORY

B C	
55	Julius Cæsar's first visit
A D	
43	Real conquest begun by Claudius
50	South east of Britain made a Roman province
78	Julius Agricola governor
410	The Romans withdrew
450	The Jutes in Kent
503	Settlement of the west of Caledonia by Scots from Ireland
563	St Columba at Iona
597	St Augustine in Kent, conversion of Ethelbert
655	Supremacy of Northumbria.
664	Synod of Whitby, Roman Christianity adopted
784	Triumph of Offa, supremacy of Mercia.
787	First invasions of the Norsemen.
825	Supremacy of Wessex.
827	Egbert of Wessex king of all England
843	Kenneth MacAlpin king of the Picts and the Scots
871	Alfred the Great began to reign
876	Alfred defeated the Danes at Ethandun
879	Peace of Wedmore, division of the kingdom
901	Death of Alfred, Edward the Elder succeeded
925	Athelstan succeeded his father Edward
937	Athelstan's victory at Brunanburgh
940	Edmund succeeded his brother Athelstan
942	Dunstan Abbot of Glastonbury, Odo Archbishop of Canterbury
946	Edred succeeded his brother Edmund
955	Edwy (Edmund's son) succeeded Edred
959	Edgar succeeded his brother Edwy
960	Dunstan succeeded Odo as Archbishop of Canterbury
975	Edward the Martyr succeeded his father Edgar
979	Edward murdered, Ethelred the Unready succeeded
1002	Massacre of Danes on St Brice's Day
1013	Sweyn ravaged England, Ethelred fled to Normandy
1014	Death of Sweyn, the war renewed by his son Cnut
—	Battle of Clontarf, Danes lost their supremacy in Ireland

1016. Edmund Ironside succeeded his father Ethelred, partition of the kingdom Death of Edmund, Cnut king of all England

1035 Death of Cnut, Harold I succeeded

1040 Hartha-cnut succeeded Harold, 1st Danish king

1042 Edward the Confessor succeeded Hartha-cnut

1053 Harold succeeded Godwin as Earl of Wessex

1066 Harold II. elected king on Edward's death

— Battle of Stamford Bridge, September 25

— Landing of William at Pevensey, September 29 Battle of Hastings (Senlac), October 14 William crowned, December 25

1068 Revolt of Edwin and Morcar

1069 Great rising in the north, joined by Welsh, Scots, and Danes

1072 William exacted homage from Malcolm of Scotland

1086 Great court on Salisbury Plain, sub tenants as well as tenants swore fealty to the king Domesday Book made

1087 Death of William I, his son, William II. (Rufus), succeeded

1093 Malcolm III of Scotland killed at Alnwick

1094 Rufus received Normandy in pledge from his brother Robert

1097 Edgar, a son of Malcolm and Margaret, became king of Scotland

1100 Death of William II, accession of his brother Henry I.

1120 Death of Henry's son William in the *White Ship*

1124 David I of Scotland succeeded his brother Alexander

1135 Death of Henry I, his nephew Stephen crowned

1139 Civil war began between Matilda and Stephen

1153 Malcolm IV succeeded his grandfather David I in Scotland

1154 Death of Stephen, Henry II, son of Matilda, succeeded

— Pope Adrian IV granted the sovereignty of Ireland to Henry II

1159 Henry levied scutage, a tax in lieu of personal service

1162 Becket Archbishop of Canterbury

1164 The Constitutions of Clarendon enacted

1165 William I (The Lion) succeeded his brother Malcolm IV in Scotland

1170 Becket murdered in Canterbury Cathedral

— Richard Strongbow's expedition to Ireland

1171 Henry received the homage of the Irish chiefs

1174 William of Scotland captured at Alnwick

1176 Travelling justices appointed, and the country divided into circuits, trial by jury regularly established

1178 The Curia Regis divided into two courts (Court of King's Bench and the Court of Common Pleas)

1181 The fyrd, or national militia, reorganized

1188 Personal property, as distinct from land, taxed for the first time

1189 Death of Henry II, accession of his son Richard I

— Richard joined the Third Crusade

1194 Richard returned to England

1199 Death of Richard I, accession of his brother John

1208 The Pope laid England under an interdict

1209 The Pope excommunicated John

1213 John submitted to the Pope.

1214. Alexander II. succeeded his father, William the Lion, in Scotland

1215. Magna Carta granted

— John died at Newark, his son, Henry III, succeeded

1227. Henry began to reign in person

1236. Henry married Eleanor of Provence

1238. Simon de Montfort married Eleanor, the king's sister

1244. A reform committee of twelve lords appointed

1258. The Provisions of Oxford were drawn up

1263. De Montfort took up arms

— The first invasion of Scotland by the Norsemen repulsed at Largs

1264. Defeat of Henry at Lewes

1265. De Montfort called burgesses to Parliament for the first time

— De Montfort defeated and slain at Evesham, August.

1272. Death of Henry III his son, Edward I, succeeded

1277. Edward invaded Wales, Llewellyn submitted

1278. The Statute Quo Warrantum passed

1279. The Statute of Mortmain passed

1284. Wales annexed to England by statute, Prince Edward born at Caernarvon Castle

1286. Death of Alexander III of Scotland, his grand daughter Margaret, the Maid of Norway, succeeded

1290. The Maid of Norway died on her way to Scotland

1291. Edward decided in favour of the claims of John Baliol to the Scottish crown

1295. The Model Parliament met.

1296. The jurisdiction of church courts limited

— Edward deposed John of Scotland

1297. Scottish rebellion under William Wallace, Battle of Stirling Bridge

1298. Wallace defeated at Falkirk

1305. Execution of Wallace Revolt in Scotland under Robert Bruce

1306. Robert Bruce crowned at Scone.

1307. Death of Edward I, accession of his son Edward II.

1310. Lords Ordainers appointed to prepare a plan of reform

1314. Bruce's victory at Bannockburn.

1327. Edward II murdered in Berkeley Castle, his son, Edward III, succeeded

1328. Scottish independence acknowledged

1329. Death of Robert Bruce, his son, David II, succeeded

1332. The Commons began to sit apart from the Lords

1333. Edward defeated the Scots at Halidon Hill.

1337. Edward claimed the French crown.

1346. Edward invaded France, Battle of Crecy

— David of Scotland defeated and taken prisoner at Neville's Cross.

1347. Calais surrendered to the English

1349. The Black Plague.

1356. Victory of the Black Prince at Poitiers

1360. Treaty of Bretigny

— Justices of the Peace began to hold Quarter Sessions

1370. Robert II succeeded David II in Scotland

1377. John Wyclif called before the bishops

— Death of Edward III., accession of his grandson, Richard II, son of the Black Prince

1381. Rising of the commons under Wat Tyler

1389. Richard began to rule in person

1390. Robert III succeeded Robert II in Scotland

1393. The great Statute of Præmunire

1399. Henry, Duke of Lancaster, claimed his father's estates Deposition of Richard by Parliament, Henry crowned as Henry IV

1401. First statute for the burning of heretics passed

1403. The Percies and Owen Glendower defeated at Shrewsbury

1405. James, Prince of Scotland, taken prisoner by Henry

1406. James I proclaimed King of Scotland

1413. Death of Henry IV, his son, Henry V, succeeded

1415. Henry's victory at Agincourt

1420. Treaty of Troyes

1422. Death of Henry V, accession of his son Henry VI.

1424. James I of Scotland released.

1429. The siege of Orleans raised by Joan of Arc.

1437. Murder of James I of Scotland at Perth, his son, James II, succeeded

1450. Rebellion under Jack Cade

1453. End of the French war, England held Calais only

1454. Henry unfit to govern, Richard, Duke of York, protector

1455. Henry recovered, York dismissed Wars of the Roses, Yorkist victory at St Albans

— Invention of printing

1460. Yorkist victory at Northampton, York declared Henry's heir

— York defeated and slain at Wakefield.

— James II of Scotland killed at Roxburgh Castle, James III succeeded

1461. Edward, son of Richard of York, declared king as Edward IV.

— Yorkist victory at Towton.

1464. Edward's marriage displeased the Earl of Warwick.

1465. King Henry imprisoned in the Tower

1470. Warwick and Queen Margaret landed in England, Edward fled, Henry VI restored

1471. Edward returned, defeated and slew Warwick at Barnet, April 14 Defeated Margaret, and killed her son Edward at Tewkesbury, May 4. Henry murdered

1477. Caxton began to print at Westminster

1483. Death of Edward IV, accession of his son Edward V

— Richard, Duke of Gloucester, uncle of the king, proclaimed protector, declared himself king as Richard III

1485. Henry, Earl of Richmond, landed in Wales, defeated and slew Richard at Bosworth. Henry proclaimed king as Henry VII.

1487. The Star Chamber established

1488 James III of Scotland killed, James IV succeeded

1492 Discovery of America by Columbus

1494 Poynings' Law placed the Irish Parliament under control of the English Privy Council

1495 The Great Intercourse—treaty with the Netherlands

1497 Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope

1503 Princess Margaret married James IV of Scotland

1509 Death of Henry VII, accession of his son, Henry VIII

1511 Henry joined the Holy League against France

1513 James IV of Scotland killed at Flodden, James V succeeded

1520 Henry met Francis on the Field of the Cloth of Gold

— Martin Luther declared against the Pope

1529 Meeting of the Reformation Parliament, November 3

1532 Henry married Anne Boleyn

1533 Parliament forbade appeals to Rome

1534 The authority of the Pope in England abolished by Parliament

1536 The smaller monasteries suppressed

— An insurrection in the north—the Pilgrimage of Grace

1539 The larger monasteries suppressed

1542 Defeat of Scots at Solway Moss Birth of Mary Stuart

— Death of James V of Scotland, Mary succeeded

1547 Death of Henry VIII, accession of his son Edward VI

— Lord Hertford made Protector and Duke of Somerset

— The Scots defeated by Hertford at Pinkie

1549 The first Prayer Book of King Edward approved An Act of Uniformity passed

1551 The Forty two Articles of Religion drawn up

1552 A second Prayer Book approved and a second Act of Uniformity passed

1553 Death of Edward VI, Mary I, daughter of Henry VIII, accepted as queen, Lady Jane Grey sent to the Tower

— Parliament repealed the Acts of Edward's reign

1554 Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt, execution of Lady Jane Grey

— Mary of Guise regent of Scotland

1555 Beginning of the persecution of Protestants

1557 England joined Spain in a war against France

— The Scots signed the First Covenant

1558 Loss of Calais

— Death of Mary I, accession of her half sister Elizabeth.

1559 Act of Supremacy and Act of Uniformity passed.

— The Scots signed the Second Covenant

1560 Partial revival of Romanism in England

1563 The Thirty-nine Articles drawn up

1567 Surrender of Mary Queen of Scots at Curberry Hill, abdication, her son proclaimed as James VI

1568 Escape of Mary from Lochleven, defeat at Langside, flight to England

1572 Massacre of St Bartholomew in France

1580 Drake returned from his voyage round the world

1580	James VI of Scotland began to rule in person
1585	The Earl of Leicester sent to help the Dutch against Spain
1587	Execution of Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringay
1588	Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
1592	Episcopacy abolished in Scotland
1600	Charter granted to the East India Company
1603	Death of Elizabeth, James VI of Scotland becomes James I of England—Union of the Crowns
1604	Hampton Court Conference, new translation of the Bible
1605	The Gunpowder Plot
1606	The colony of Virginia established
1612	Settlement of the East India Company at Surat
1616	Death of William Shakespeare
1617	James visited Scotland, and tried to establish Episcopacy there
1618	Beginning of the Thirty Years' War
—	Execution of Sir Walter Raleigh
1620	Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England
1625	Death of James, his son, Charles I, succeeded
—	War with Spain, fruitless expedition to Cadiz
1628	Third Parliament of Charles, the Petition of Right
1629	Strong protest by the Commons, Parliament dissolved
1633	Charles visited Scotland
1634	The tax called ship-money revived
1637	The Scots resisted the introduction of Laud's Prayer Book
—	Trial of John Hampden.
1638	The National Covenant drawn up and signed by the Scots Epis copacy abolished by the General Assembly at Glasgow
1639	War between Charles and the Scots, the Treaty of Berwick
1640	Fourth Parliament of Charles—the Short Parliament
—	The Scots marched into England, the truce of Ripon
—	Fifth Parliament of Charles—the Long Parliament
1641	Impeachment of Strafford, attainder, execution
—	Charles visited Scotland, and granted the demands of the Scots
—	The "Grand Remonstrance" passed
1642	Charles attempted the arrest of the Five Members
—	The king set up his standard at Nottingham (August)
—	Indecisive Battle of Edgehill (October)
1643	Hampden killed at Chalgrove Field (June), Fairfax beaten at Atherton Moor, and Waller at Roundway Down (July), Cromwell victorious at Gainsborough (July), Essex relieved Gloucester, and fought the first battle of Newbury (September)
—	The "Solemn League and Covenant" signed (September)
1644	A Scottish army marched into England, Battle of Marston Moor (July)
—	Essex's army cut to pieces in Cornwall (August), second indecisive battle of Newbury (October)
1645	Archbishop Laud executed (January)
—	Battle of Naseby (June)—the king's forces utterly routed (1,292)

1646 Charles gave himself up to the Scottish army at Newark

1647 The Scots surrendered Charles to the English Parliament

1648 The Second Civil War began, the Scots utterly beaten at Preston (August), Royalist risings suppressed

— Pride's Purge (December)

1649 Execution of Charles (January 30)

— The monarchy and the House of Lords abolished, England declared to be a "commonwealth and free state."

— Cromwell in Ireland, stormed Drogheda and Wexford

1650 Prince Charles received by the Scots as their king

— Cromwell invaded Scotland, and won the Battle of Dunbar

1651 Charles II crowned King of Scotland at Scone

— Battle of Worcester (September), Charles escaped to France

1653 Cromwell drove out the "Rump" Parliament

— Cromwell made Lord Protector (December)

— The First Protectorate Parliament

1656 The Second Protectorate Parliament offered Cromwell the title of King

1658 Death of Oliver Cromwell, Richard Cromwell made Protector

1659 Richard Cromwell resigned (July)

1660 General Monk summoned a free Parliament

— Prince Charles entered London (May 29) as Charles II.

1661 The Corporation Act passed

1662 The Act of Uniformity passed

1664 The Conventicle Act passed

1665 The Five Mile Act passed

— War declared against Holland

— The Great Plague of London

1666 The Great Fire of London

1667 The Dutch fleet burned the English ships at Chatham

1668 The Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden against France

1670 The Secret Treaty of Dover

1672 Charles issued a "Declaration of Indulgence," obliged by Parliament to withdraw it

1673 The Test Act passed

1678 Titus Oates revealed his pretended Popish Plot

1679 The Habeas Corpus Act passed

— Rising of the Scottish Covenanters at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge

1682 Pennsylvania founded by William Penn

1683 The Rye House Plot discovered

1685 Death of Charles II, his brother, James II, succeeded

— Insurrection of Monmouth, Battle of Sedgemoor

1686 James "dispensed with" the Test Act, Hales's case

1687 The king issued a "Declaration of Indulgence"

1688 Trial of the Seven Bishops

— William of Orange landed at Torbay (November)

1689 The Declaration of Right William and Mary King and queen

— The Declaration turned into the Bill of Rights

1689 Battle of Killiecrankie.
 — James landed in Ireland and besieged Londonderry
 1690 William victorious in the Battle of the Boyne (July)
 1692 The Massacre of Glencoe
 1693 The National Debt established
 1694 The Bank of England founded.
 — The Triennial Act passed.
 — Death of Mary
 1695 The Censorship of the Press abolished
 1696 An Education Act passed in the Scottish Parliament, establishing schools in every parish
 1697 The Peace of Ryswick.
 1699 Failure of the Darien Scheme, great indignation in Scotland
 1701 The Act of Settlement passed.
 — William formed the Grand Alliance
 1702 Death of William, accession of Anne
 — The War of the Spanish Succession began
 1703 The Scottish Parliament passed an Act of Security
 1704 The Battle of Blenheim.
 — Capture of Gibraltar by Admiral Rooke
 1706 Marlborough defeated the French at Ramillies
 1707 The Act of Union between England and Scotland passed.
 1708 Marlborough won the Battle of Oudenarde.
 1709 Marlborough's victory at Malplaquet
 1713 Peace signed at Utrecht.
 1714 Death of Anne, George, Elector of Hanover, succeeded as George I
 1715 The First Jacobite Rebellion, Battles of Sherrifmuir and Preston.
 1716 The Septennial Act passed.
 1720 The South Sea Bubble
 1721 Sir Robert Walpole became Prime Minister.
 1727 Death of George I, George II succeeded.
 1733 The "Family Compact" made between France and Spain
 1737 Death of Queen Caroline
 1739 Rise of the Methodist movement.
 — War declared against Spain
 1740 The War of the Austrian Succession began
 1742 Walpole resigned office, made Earl of Orford
 1743 King George won the battle of Dettingen against the French.
 1744 Return of Anson from his voyage round the world
 — War formally declared against France, Battle of Fontenoy
 1745 The Second Jacobite Rebellion, Battle of Prestonpans
 1746 Battles of Falkirk and Culloden Moor
 1748 The Peace of Aachen (Aix-la Chapelle)
 1756 The Seven Years' War began
 — Tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta.
 1757 Clive defeated Suraj ud Dowlah at Plassey.
 — The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry
 1759 British supremacy established in Bengal.

Appendix

1759 Wolfe's victory on the Heights of Abraham , fall of Quebec

1760 The British conquest of Canada completed

— Eyre Coote won the decisive battle of Wandewash

— Death of George II , his grandson, George III , succeeded

1761 The " Family Compact " renewed , Pitt resigned

1762 Bute became Prime Minister , Pitt's plans carried out

1763 The Peace of Paris signed

— Bute resigned , succeeded by George Grenville

1765 The Stamp Act passed

— Grenville dismissed , succeeded by Rockingham.

1766 Repeal of the Stamp Act

— The Ministry of Pitt (now Earl of Chatham)

1768 Chatham resigned , succeeded by Grafton.

— Captain Cook made his first voyage to Australia

1770 Grafton resigned , succeeded by Lord North

— The Boston Massacre , import duties removed, except that on tea.

1773 Warren Hastings appointed first Governor-General of India.

— Tea ships in Boston Harbour boarded, and their cargoes thrown into the sea

1775 The first skirmish at Lexington (April) , Battle of Bunker Hill.

1776 The American Declaration of Independence (July 4)

— New York taken by the British

1777 The capture of Philadelphia

— Surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga.

1778 Alliance of France with the American colonies

— Death of Chatham.

1779 The great Siege of Gibraltar began.

1780 Rodney beat the Spaniards off Cape St Vincent

1781 Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.

— Hyder Ali defeated by Sir Eyre Coote at Porto Novo

1782 Lord North resigned , succeeded by Lord Rockingham.

— Poynings' Law repealed , independence of the Irish Parliament acknowledged

— Death of Rockingham , Lord Shelburne Prime Minister

1783 The Peace of Versailles (January) , independence of the United States of America recognized

— The " Coalition " Ministry of Fox and North , William Pitt became Prime Minister

1784 Pitt's India Bill , the " Board of Control " established

1786 Impeachment of Warren Hastings

— Lord Cornwallis Governor General of India

1788 The Trial of Warren Hastings begun

1791 Representative government granted to Canada.

1792 France declared a Republic

1793 Execution of Louis XVI of France (January)

— France declared war against Great Britain (February)

— The First Coalition against France

1794 Lord Howe defeated the French fleet off Ushant.

1794 Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act
 1795 Expedition to Quiberon Bay failed
 1796 The French attempted landings in Ireland and Wales
 1797 Great Britain alone in the war against France
 — Admiral Jervis defeated the Spanish fleet off Cape St Vincent.
 — Mutinies at Spithead and the Nore suppressed
 — Admiral Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet off Camperdown.
 1798 Rebellion of the United Irishmen crushed at Vinegar Hill.
 — Admiral Nelson won the Battle of the Nile
 — The Income Tax first imposed.
 1799 Pitt formed the Second Coalition against France.
 1800 The Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
 1801 Pitt resigned, succeeded by Henry Addington.
 — The first combined Parliament for Great Britain and Ireland met.
 — The French army expelled from Egypt
 — Nelson destroyed the Danish fleet at Copenhagen.
 1802 The Peace of Amiens
 1803 War with France renewed
 1804 Pitt returned to power
 — Napoleon Bonaparte became Emperor of France
 — The Third Coalition against France
 1805 The Battle of Trafalgar (October), Austerlitz (December)
 1806 Death of William Pitt (January), the Ministry of Lord Grenville,
 — death of Fox, Battle of Jena.
 1807 Abolition of the Slave Trade
 — The Danish fleet seized and brought to England.
 1808 The Spaniards rose against the French, Sir Arthur Wellesley sent
 — to Portugal.
 — Battles of Rorica and Vimiera, the Convention of Cintra.
 1809 The Battle of Corunna, Sir John Moore killed
 — The Walcheren Expedition a dismal failure
 — Wellesley drove Soult from Oporto, invaded Spain, and won the
 — victory of Talavera.
 1810 Wellington retired behind the lines of Torres Vedras.
 1811 The Prince of Wales became regent
 — Beresford won the Battle of Albuera.
 1812 Wellington stormed Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and won the Battle
 — of Salamanca.
 — Steamships first plied on the Clyde
 1813 Wellington gained the Battle of Vitoria.
 1814 The allies entered Paris (March)
 — Wellington won the Battle of Toulouse (April)
 — The First Peace of Paris, Napoleon banished to Elba.
 — The "Waverley" novels begin
 1815 Napoleon escaped from Elba (March), Battle of Waterloo (June).
 — Napoleon banished to St Helena, where he died in 1821
 — The "Holy Alliance" between Austria, Russia, and Prussia
 — The Second Peace of Paris

Appendix.

1819 The "Manchester Massacre"
 — The Atlantic first crossed by a steamer
 1820 Death of George III, succeeded by his son George IV
 1822 Canning became Foreign Secretary
 1824 War with Burma.
 1825 The Stockton and Darlington Railway opened
 1828 The Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister
 — Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts
 1829 The Bill for Catholic Emancipation passed
 1830 Death of George IV, succeeded by his brother William IV
 — The Duke of Wellington resigned, Earl Grey became Prime Minister
 1831 The Reform Bill introduced by Lord John Russell (March), defeated in committee, Parliament dissolved
 1832 The Reform Bill passed the Lords (June)
 1833 The first Reformed Parliament met (January)
 — Slaves throughout the British colonies emancipated
 — Act limiting the employment of children in factories passed
 — Grant to National Society in aid of schools first made
 1834 Lord Grey resigned, Lord Melbourne became Prime Minister
 — The New Poor Law
 1835 The Municipal Reform Act passed
 1837 Death of William IV, succeeded by his niece Victoria.
 — Rebellion in Canada
 1838 The Chartist agitation began, the "People's Charter"
 — The Anti-Corn-Law League formed
 1840 The postal system radically improved by Rowland Hill
 — Self government granted to Canada
 — The Queen married Prince Albert
 1841 Melbourne resigned, Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister
 1842 Peel reformed the tariff, and revived the Income Tax
 1843 The Annexation of Sind
 — Disruption of the Church of Scotland, formation of the Free Church
 1845 Peel abolished the duties on about 450 kinds of goods
 — The first Sikh War broke out
 1846 The Sikhs defeated, Treaty of Lahore
 — Peel carried the Repeal of the Corn Laws
 — Peel resigned, Lord John Russell became Prime Minister
 — Failure of the potato crop in Ireland, great famine
 1849 Republic proclaimed in France, with Louis Napoleon as President
 — The second Sikh War began, the Punjab annexed
 — End of the Chartist movement
 1851 The Great Exhibition held in London
 1852 Louis Napoleon declared Emperor of France
 1854 The Crimean War began (March)
 — The Battle of the Alma (September), Sebastopol besieged (October), Battles of Balaklava and Inkerman.
 1855 The fall of Sebastopol (September)
 — Annexation of Oudh.

1856 Crimean War closed by the Treaty of Paris (March)

1857 The Indian Mutiny

1858 Supremacy of the East India Company ended, India transferred to the Crown.

— Admission of Jews to Parliament

1861 The American Civil War began

— Death of the Prince Consort (December)

1866 Mr Gladstone introduced a Reform Bill, Government defeated

1867 Mr Disraeli carried a Reform Bill.

— The Dominion of Canada formed

1869 The Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

1870 The first Irish Land Act, Mr Forster's Education Act

1872 The Ballot Act passed

— An Elementary Education Act for Scotland passed

1877 The Transvaal annexed to the British Crown

1878 War with Afghanistan.

— The "Dual Control" of France and Great Britain in Egypt

1880 The Transvaal revolted, Majuba Hill, Boers left to govern themselves under the suzerainty of Great Britain (1881)

1881 The second Irish Land Act

1882 Rebellion against the Khedive of Egypt, bombardment of Alexandria, the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir

1884 General Gordon besieged by the Mahdi in Khartum, relief expedition under Lord Wolseley arrived too late

— The third Reform Bill passed

1886 Mr Gladstone beaten on the first Home Rule Bill.

1888 Local Government Act passed

1893 Home Rule Bill passed the Commons, but rejected by the Lords

1894 The Local Government Act, completing the Act of 1888, passed

1896 The reconquest of the Sudan began (June)

1897 The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

1898 Imperial Penny Postage sanctioned

— The Battle of Omdurman, Khartum occupied.

— Irish Local Government Act passed.

— International Court of Arbitration established

1899 The Boer War began (October), General Buller defeated at Colenso, Lord Roberts appointed commander in chief in South Africa

— The London Local Government Act passed

1900 The Federation of Australia accomplished (January)

— Lord Kitchener took command in South Africa; peace signed, May 31, 1902

1901 Death of Queen Victoria (January 22), accession of Edward VII.

1902 Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and Japan.

— Boer War Peace signed at Pretoria

— Education Act for England and Wales

1903 Irish Land Purchase Act.

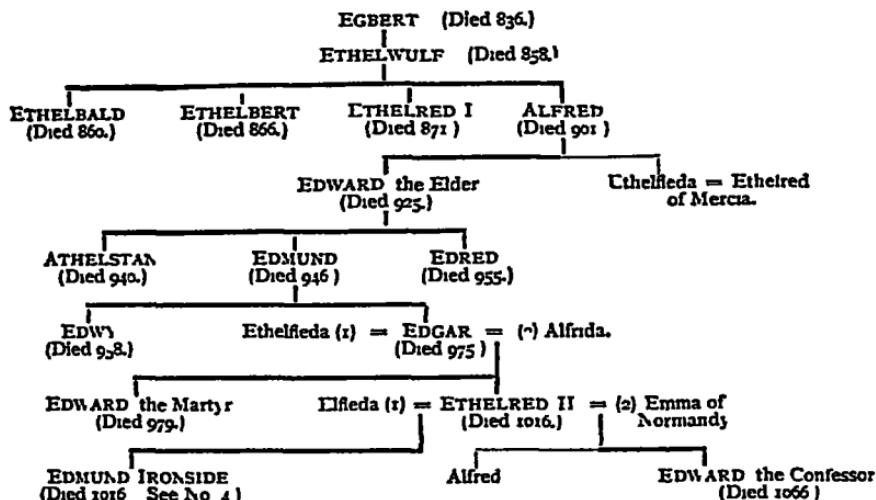
— Education Act for London

— Mr Chamberlain proposed changes in the fiscal policy of the country

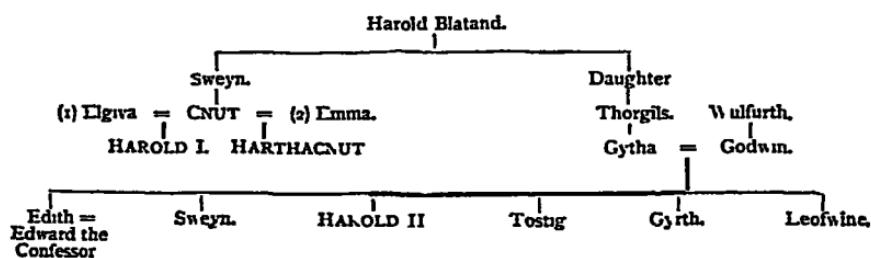
1904.	Russo-Japanese War
—	Agreement between Great Britain and France (<i>Entente Cordiale</i>)
1905	Renewal of treaty between Great Britain and Japan.
1906	Agricultural Holdings Act (England)
1907	Self government granted to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony
—	The Territorial Army (a reorganization of the auxiliary forces) established
—	Anglo Russian Agreement
1908.	Old Age Pensions Act.
1909	Irish Land Act, developing Act of 1903
—	Federation of South Africa.
1910	Death of Edward VII. (May 6); accession of George V
1911.	Parliament Bill passed
—	National Insurance Bill introduced
—	Turco Italian War

GENEALOGICAL TREES

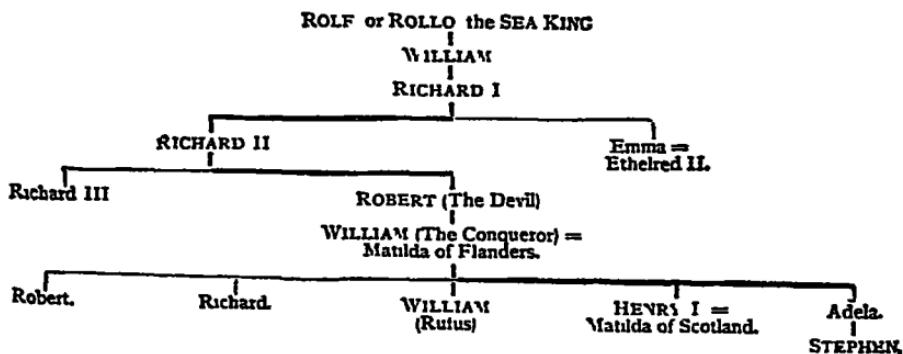
1. THE WEST SAXON LINE



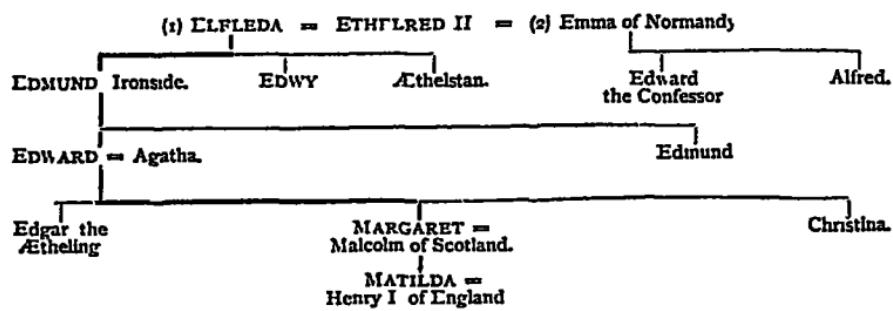
2 THE DANISH KINGS AND HOUSE OF GODWIN



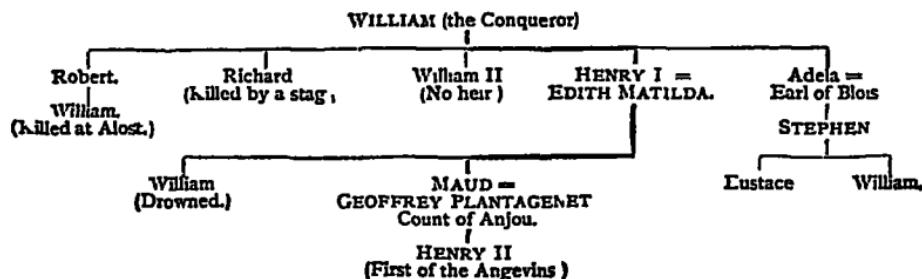
3 THE NORMAN LINE



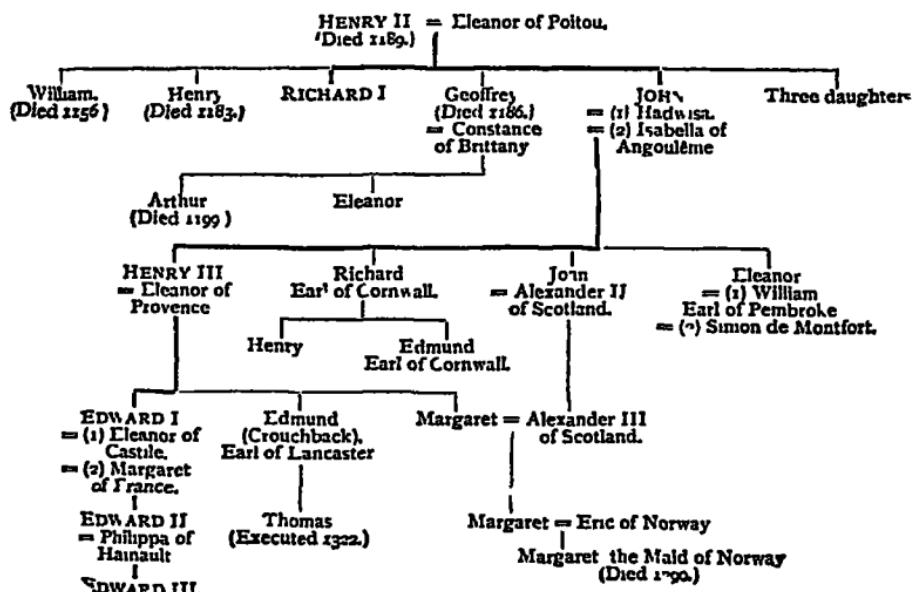
4 THE SAXON AND THE NORMAN LINE



5 THE NORMANS AND THE ANGEVINS



6 THE HOUSE OF ANJOU.

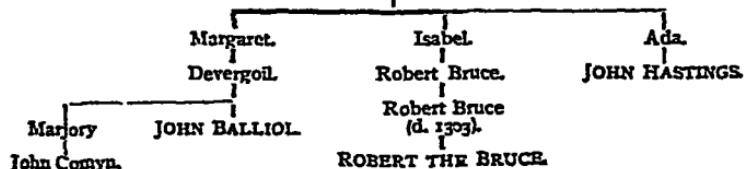


Genealogical Trees.

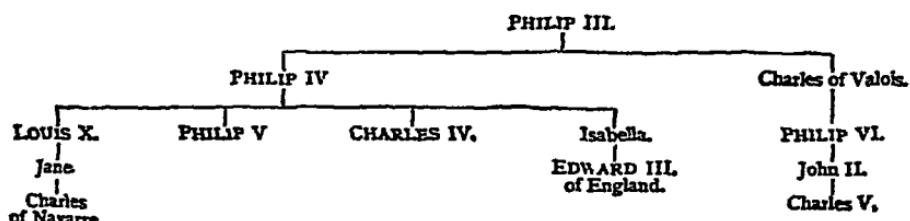
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7. BRUCE, BALLIOL, AND HASTINGS

WILLIAM the Lion.—David Earl of Huntingdon.



8 THE FRENCH SUCCESSION



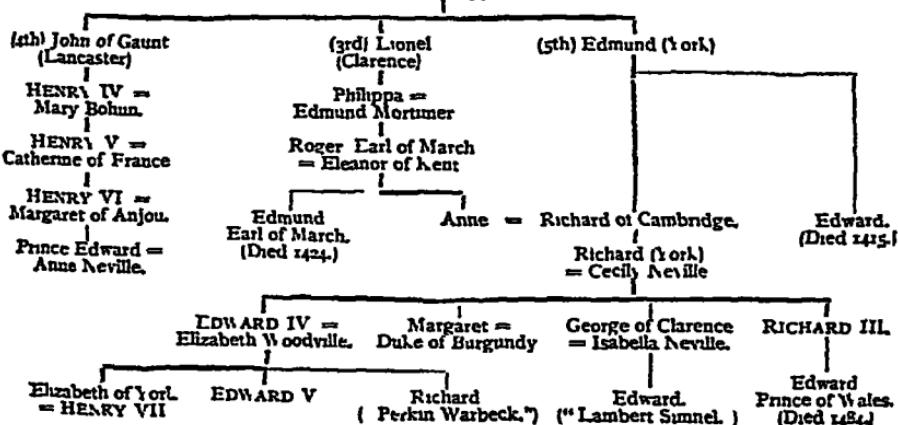
9 See page 484

10 LANCASTER AND YORK

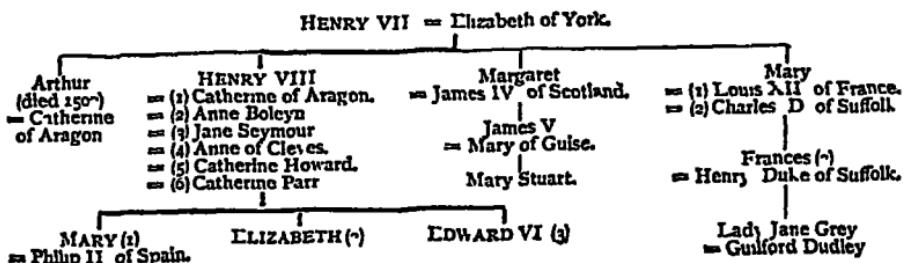
[Lancaster]

[York.]

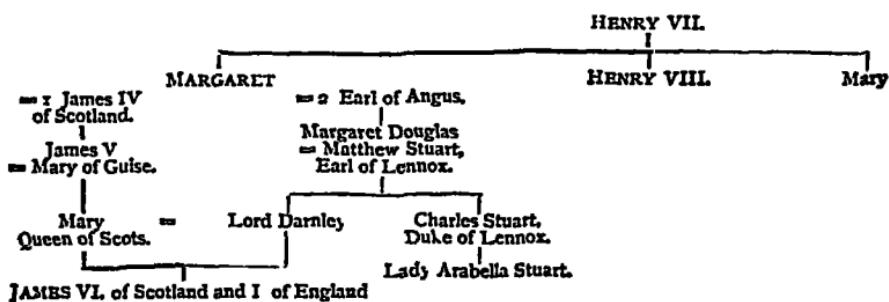
EDWARD III = Philippa of Hainault



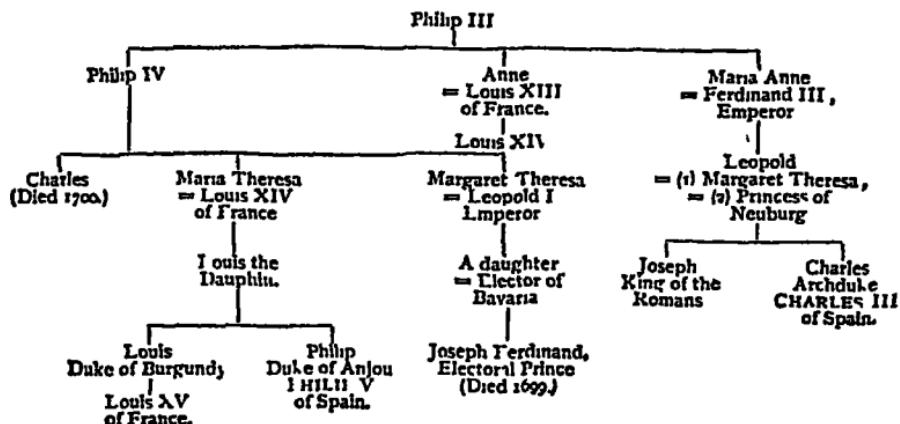
13 TEE TUDORS



14 THE TUDORS AND THE STUARTS



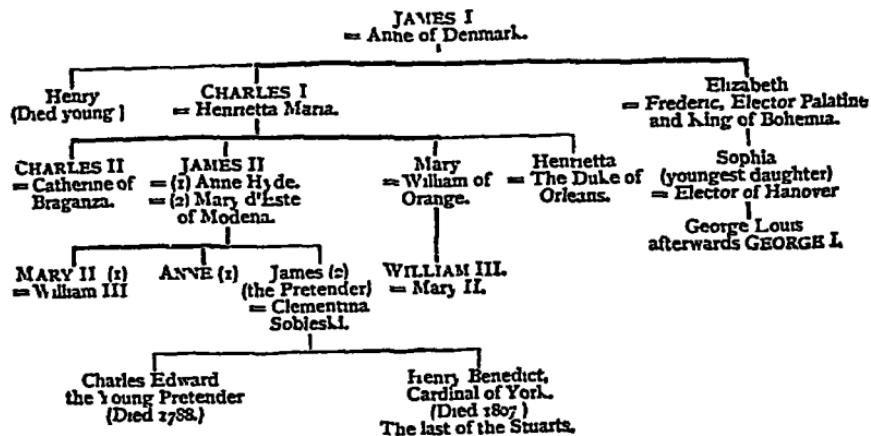
15 THE SPANISH SUCCESSION



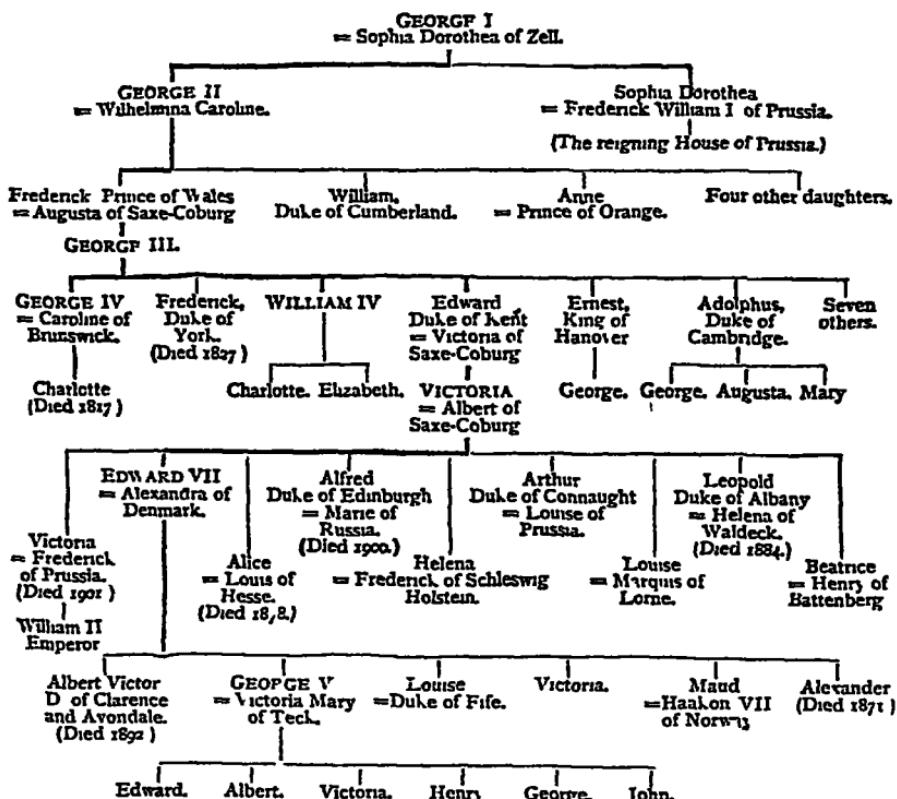
Genealogical Trees

511

16 THE STUARTS AND THE HANOVERIANS



17 THE HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.



THE END